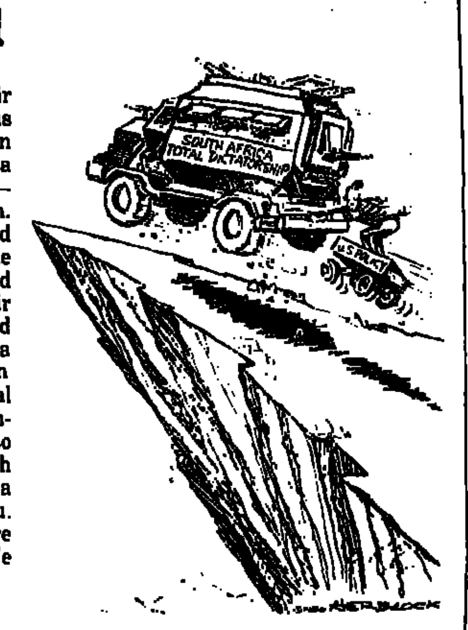
THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Howe snubbed

EVERYBODY whom is important for Sir Geoffrey Howe to see in South Africa has refused to see him. The British Foreign Secretary was told by President P. W. Botha *that he was too busy to see him this week* — though he may find time later in the month. Bishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak said they would refuse to meet him and Winnie Mandela said her imprisoned husband Nelson would not meet him either. Sir Geoffrey went instead to Zambia and Zimbabwe to confer with President Kaunda and Mr Mugabe about the South African crisis. The Church of England's General Synod, meeting in York voted overwhelmingly to urge the British government to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. At the beginning of the debate a message was read from Bishop Tutu. "Please, please stand by us," it said. "We are moving daily further into repression. We are going back into the dark ages."

(Report, page 4)



Nakasone and the rise in Japanese firepower

EVEN his most strident critics must *concede that the Liberal Democratic Party's* victory in the Japanese elections was a stunning personal triumph for Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. *(Report, page 6)*. He called the elections (unusually, for both upper and lower houses) against the advice of party colleagues, at a time when the appreciating yen was blunting the country's competitiveness and barely two months since commentators were writing him off after a poor personal showing at the Tokyo Economic Summit.

But instead of political hara-kiri, Mr Nakasone emerged with a landslide, winning over 300 seats in the important Lower House of Parliament, converting a threadbare majority (courtesy of other parties) into an absolute majority. This compares with 271 needed to control all standing committees, which was reckoned to be the minimum needed to avoid political oblivion. But, curiously, Mr Nakasone suffered the humiliation of finishing second behind former Prime Minister Fukuda — his arch LDP faction rival who had opposed an election — in their own multiseat constituency.

Whatever face he has lost locally has more than been made up for nationally, where he now has a popular mandate which may force the LDP to bend its own rules to allow him to continue as leader for a third term. That is what the election is really all about, despite inscrutable disclaimers. Unless the party changes the rules he will have to stand down as leader in October.

The outcome has important consequences for the rest of the world. Mr Nakasone's administration has been characterised *increasing internationalisation abr* flanked by an ominous increase in natio ism at home. He has tried to open reluctant Japanese markets to West products and financial services to head protectionist pressures and to incre Japan's role on the world stage. This contrary to national instincts (to Japanese) and to the country's labyrintl distibution system. Nothing much happe until a soaring yen (helped by a declir dollar) dented the competitiveness of pan's industrial machine and started a t wave of protest from manufacturers. even this (nor the fact that the econ actually contracted in the first quai prevented an LDP victory which the kets perversely celebrated, with the rising to a new record "high."

Mr Nakasone's ambition of greater re nition for Japan in the world is backe an assertive defence policy based on assumption that Japan must have firepower to be respected in the world. greater extent than the rivals who m replace him, Mr Nakasone (who has a cated getting rid of the "peace clause" ir constitution) is leading the Japanese sensus from the front on the issu increased military power. Of course, seen always as "defence" spending bu the momentum builds up, the distin between what might be used for defen attack is in danger of becoming increasi blurred. If Mr Nakasone's victory leads more militaristic nation then it will be not just for Japan, but for the rest o world.

Le Monde

France and New Zealand have agreed that the French secret service officers at present serving ten-year sentences in New Zealand for their part in blowing up the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior shall be transferred to the French island of Hao in French Polynesia for three years' "confinement". The release of Major Alain Mafart and Captain Dominique Prieur is part of a deal arranged by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, under which New Zealand gets a French apology, nearly £5 millions in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports to the EEC. Below we give a personal French view of the affair by Le Monde's Jacques Amalric.

The end of the affair?

SO THE PROCEDURE adopted with the choice of Perez de Cuellar as mediator has worked. The UN Secretary-General sent to the French and New Zealand leaders his proposals for settling the dispute over the Rainbow Warrior incident. Since the two capitals had announced beforehand they would abide by the mediator's directives, we can look forward to seeing a rapid change in the situation of the two French officers who have been held in New Zealand for almost a year.

France and New Zealand had each sent a memorandum to the mediator in which they defined the minimum they were prepared to accept. The "verdict" is in a way a synthesis of the two texts.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has not forgotten that he has to face an election in 1987, perhaps before, and that his conservative opponents will not fail to use against him his boast of a few months ago that Dominique Prieur and Alain Mafart would serve out their full terms in New Zealand.

It is the endless customs pinpricks employed by France against certain New Zealand goods (in particular, wool and sheep's brains) and the suspension of NZ lamb imports by New Caledonia which helped to change the impetuous David Lange's mind. All the more so, as France had another economic ace up its sleeve — the renewal at the end of July of the butter agreement between New Zealand and the EEC.

Lange was able to gauge French determination during his tour of several European countries: most of the people he spoke to — except Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — advised him to make a deal. It was Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers who talked Lange into accepting the principle of mediation, which was the only way Lange could gracefully go back on his hardline declarations. Perez de Cuellar's personality helped in having the agreement worked out very quickly.

What did Lange want in exchange for the early release of Prieur and Mafart? First, an apology from France, compensation and the normalisation of trade relations.

The French Government wanted to get it over with before the question of New Zealand butter came up for a vote in the EEC. An agreement between Paris and Wellington does not, however, mean that French-New Zealand relations have been completely normalised. Wellington has made no secret of its intention to continue its struggle to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, which means putting a stop to the Moruroa nuclear tests. Then again, the New Zealanders have already criticised the Chirac government decision to halt the reforms in New Caledonia and have pointed out that they are in favour of this French possession becoming independent.

In short, France's image is not about to improve in the Pacific, where it is increasingly seen as an arrogant power, insensitive, and ignoring the realities. Perhaps, all the same, the Rainbow Warrior incident will have brought home to French leaders that New Zealand is not inhabited by Britons, but provincial puritans, rural folk who are as confident of their rights as they are unshakable on their ethics.

(Report, page 6)

Two deaths in Malaysia

WITHIN Malaysia's jurisdiction the death penalty is mandatory for drug traffickers. To describe the death penalty as barbaric, medieval, and inhumane, as Australian spokesmen did on Monday may very well be accurate. In our view it is. But Malaysia is only one of many countries to practise it and *almost every other has practised it within* living memory (the last execution in Australia was in 1967). Therefore Malaysia cannot be singled out for criticism solely on that score. Secondly, Malaysia applies the death penalty for offences other than murder. But it is not unique in that. Indeed the death penalty is still technically on the statute book in Britain for treason (Act of 1814) and piracy (1837). Thirdly, the two wretched victims of Malaysian law were Australians, one also with British nationality. Thirty Malaysians and several others from Singapore have already been executed for drug offences, and the law must be colour-blind: surely no one who protests about the sentences on Kevin Barlow and Brian Chambers will disagree with that. These considerations do not mitigate the acute distress of the two men's families or atone for their shortened lives, but they may explain why there has been a measure of embarrassment in any protests mounted or requests for clemency made. The Prime Minister acted, it is said, as a moth behalf of a mother. It was a good thing But her appeal could hardly have other than unavailing.

On the scale of offences, traffickii heroin now ranks very high in condemnation: as high perhaps as blooded *murder and higher than* blooded because the victims are force suffering and may well die as a result. Pope this week called it "a new and subtle form of slavery, sometimes a al more fearful than that of the Negro s He was speaking in Colombia, supplies 80 per cent of the world's co But judicial killing must remain abh even in these circumstances, on prir grounds but also because there is the chance of a wrongful convictio ordeal of Chambers and Barlow ha two and a half years long, and ago also. In that sense they and their f have been doubly punished. But de the law's execution cannot itself be g for clemency when, as in the United the appeal procedures are themselve and laborious. If Malaysia fell into lin other countries by abolishing the pen would earn some congratulations. T has not done so is not ground enough to be condemned.

INSIDE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

How Britain paved the way for apartheid

There seems to be little understanding in the media, and even on the part of some MPs, of Britain's very great share in the responsibility for the present terrible state of affairs in South Africa. Britain has a direct constitutional responsibility for the long and agonising process of exploitation, theft of land and property, and disenfranchisement of the black people of South Africa, and their deliberate exclusion from any profit, and their fair share of the wealth that their unremitting hard labour, under brutal oppression, has helped to create.

Paul Kruger once said that one who would create the future must not forget the past; we have conveniently forgotten our part in the crimes against humanity committed in South Africa. Compromise with the Boers and their policies towards the blacks became entrenched in treaties and constitutions; it suited our exploitation of mineral and agricultural wealth and provided cheap labour controlled by crushing force. It led inexorably to segregation of all the races, to the evil system of apartheid, to white supremecy for profit and a totalitarian state that now threatens the profit it was meant to defend and the peace and prosperity of the whole of southern Africa, if not the world.

Twenty-five million black people are enslaved by apartheid today, as their forefathers were enslaved by the first Boers to arrive in the Cape in 1652, over 300 years ago. Incompetent and disastrous interventions by a succession of British governments since 1806 were the direct cause of this.

We are in duty bound to intervene again, this time effectively, to put right the wrongs we have done since we seized the Cape 180 years ago. The 142 years in the British Empire, including 104 years of direct British rule, have left the blacks worse off than when we arrived. At first we repealed the more offensive of the Boer laws, but after 100 years of wars, having gained complete political control, we made the move that doomed the blacks. The Boer Republics were allowed to disenfranchise all non-whites.

In 1910 this was entrenched in the new Union constitution, approved by the British government, despite strenuous protests by the blacks and dire warnings of disaster by eminent and knowledgeable people both here and in the Union. In 1913 the Native Land Act forced blacks off land they had owned or been tenants on for years; they were driven to squalid shanty towns in the cities, or to the barren desolate "reserves" — now the "homelands" or Bantustans.

In 1948 the Nazi sympathisers of the Broederbond swept to power in the post war elections. These men, imprisoned for sabotage in two world wars, brushed aside Smuts, who had set out to make South Africa "a white man's land," and succeeded, scorning years of peaceful struggles by the loyal blacks who had served the Empire and built a land of wealth and prosperity for the whites. Now the triumphant Boers created, on the foundations Britain had laid so well, the totalitarian racist state they had so much admired in Hitler's Germany. To date it has lasted three times longer than Hitler's Reich.

Thanks to the "liberal conscience" that some MPs seem to despise so much, the harrowing history of South Africa is well documented. Until the panic clampdown by P. W. Botha's government last month, the TV screens of the world showed us all the demented barbarity of the repression in that unhappy country. Many brave people, over many, many years have risked and lost their lives; many people, black and white, have risked ruin, savage beatings, torture, imprisonment, and suffered horrible deaths to put this terrible story in front of our eyes. George De'ath, hacked to death making a TV film, was one of the latest victims.

Today there is no excuse for being ignorant of the stark statistics of oppression in South Africa, and of Britain's contribution to the survival of this evil regime. We really should all be aware that 15 per cent of the population, all white, live in luxury on 87 per cent of the land, and have all the best land. That they enjoy 70 per cent of the country's income, while 85 per cent of the people, all black, crammed on to 13 per cent of the land, and who produce this wealth, cannot share it.

Living half starved in conditions unfit for animals, they are denied all human rights. When no longer of use to the whites they are forced to exist, if they can, in the barren eroded deserts of the "homelands," ruled by brutal black puppets of the white government, with no proper water supply, no sanitation, no medical facilities, no schooling, on soil too poor to grow sufficient food to live on, on plots too small to keep livestock or cattle. All their attempts to form legal political parties are frustrated; the ANC who represented them since 1912 banned, and every peaceful protest brutally smashed.

A state of affairs no worse than in many other countries, but one we are directly responsible for.

P. C. Edwards,
Ladbroke Road,
Epsom, Surrey.

In the 1930s when Hitler started the persecution of the Jews in Germany, anti-fascist groups in Britain advocated a boycott of German consumer goods. They were begged to drop this idea on the grounds that the "Jews would suffer the worst". This was never undertaken. Let those who oppose sanctions against South Africa remember this.

Zola Zembe,
South African Congress
of Trade Unions,
London N19.

Can I add one point to your article about the impact of sanctions on jobs in this country? (July 6). The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary have made much of the assertion that 120,000 jobs will be lost in this country if we impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

I asked the Foreign Secretary if he could detail the industries which would suffer job losses as a result of such a policy. The Government's reply was that they could not offer any breakdown of their global figures. In other words, there was no information on which industries and firms would suffer a reduction in employment. One is left with the impression, therefore, that the Government has plucked this figure out of thin air.

A policy which blocks South African imports into this country might well increase jobs here, although if it is effective, jobs will be lost in South Africa. Blocking exports to South Africa will obviously have an effect on jobs here, but the numbers of jobs affected will depend on the range of measures taken. As few people are calling for a total boycott it will be surprising if the job losses total anywhere near 120,000.

Frank Field, MP,
(Lab, Birkenhead),
London SW1.

Black insurrection and threats of economic sanctions are clearly pushing Pretoria to adopt even more extreme anti-black measures.

One solution has not been proposed: no sanctuary to be granted to white South Africans by any country when the inevitable mass exodus is attempted.

Only native white pressure will buckle Botha.

(Dr) F. Carabott,
Lisle Street,
London WC2.

Unfair to the Elizabethans

The comparison that Jane McLoughlin makes between the "often obnoxious young people" in the City and Drake, Raleigh and Sir Philip Sidney is unjust and inaccurate (July 6). None of these men was an "odious exhibitionistic bore."

Drake was a resourceful and courageous leader and a skilled seaman. Sir Walter Raleigh was the author of some of our finest poems as well as a scholarly history. He also researched into chemistry, if we are to believe Aubrey. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia and his sonnets are major works of literature.

It is crazy to compare them with jejune youths ripping off the world at the behest of some greedy financiers.

The grace and courage shown by Raleigh and Sidney at their deaths have no relevance at all to the venality and squalor of contemporary London. Can you imagine a commodities dealer giving away valuable water to a dying man as Sidney did at Zutphen? Even Philip II was moved when he heard of Sir Philip's death.

It is unlikely that men (and women) engaged in starving half the world and swindling the other half would make half so good an end. Odious and exhibitionistic? Has Ms McLoughlin read an account of Raleigh's execution?

Although our country is now a mere colony of the US, existing by money lending, tourism and arms peddling, we do not have to drag past heroes down to our own degraded level. The mere mention of Drake, Raleigh and Sidney sets off the dreary, nasty and contemptible world that Ms McLoughlin describes in the rest of her article.

William Rayner,
Muriel Road,
Norwich.

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Chernobyl postscript

Re Chernobyl: now that the dust has settled, so to speak, and America has completed its orgy of self-congratulatory doom-saying, a few facts should be brought to the attention of your readers.

First, the US does indeed have reactors of the exact same carbon-shielded type as in the Soviet Union. One of them is in the state of Washington, only a few hundred miles from where I live. There are others.

Next, the Tennessee Valley Authority (which runs seven reactors) is now fully shut down, at losses of $1 million per day, because of gross safety hazards. In the past two years, the TVA has suffered over 2,000 complaints for serious safety violations and for threats against employees for filing the complaints.

Finally, and much more serious for us here, all the drinking water reservoirs on the West Coast of Canada recently had to be closed due to severe radioactivity. First thoughts of origin were the USSR, but tests proved it was of the wrong type and that the cloud was at less than 10,000 feet.

After much checking, it seems the US has had difficulty not only with its space programme. The first nuclear test in Nevada of the recent series "bombed," so to speak, and in order to enter the test site to determine what went wrong the US Government waited for the right winds and vented all the underground radioactivity into the atmosphere, directly into Canada.

Naturally, giving prior warning wasn't deemed to be "in the US national interest" and besides, the Americans had a better-than-even chance of the problem being attributed to the USSR.

L. D. Romanosky,
Brae Glen Road, Calgary.

How to revive the Irish body politic

For those of us who have campaigned for egalitarianism, tolerance and pluralism in Irish society, the defeat of our government's restrictive divorce proposals in the recent referendum was a stark reminder of the hold that fundamentalism and prejudice has on the minds of people in areas of high religious observance where one denomination is overwhelmingly dominant.

The grand coalition of Roman Catholic and property interests in the form of the RC hierarchy and the Fianna Fail party overwhelmed Garret FitzGerald's constitutional crusade. It is absolute fatuous nonsense of Charles Haughey to assert that the result will have little significance in the context of Northern Ireland.

Fianna Fail's bogus republicanism has again been confirmed. Political partitionism rules, okay!

We believe this result is a national disaster for reconciliation in this island, dealing a body-blow to the ideal of a republic fit for Catholic, Protestant, and dissenter. We are left instead with a partitioned, troubled island ruled at one remove by the "mullahs" North and South.

Defeated and depressed though we may be, we still believe the Irish body politic can be resuscitated. The systematic separation of Church and state in education and health must be the first step on the way.

Bill Tormey,
Glasnevin Avenue,
Ballymun, Dublin.

The menace of Managua

The Guardian is wrong to suggest (Leader, July 6) that the events in Nicaragua pose no threat to the United States. United States policy is determined principally by the fear that failure to control her own base block in Latin America would, first, make it clear to the Soviet Union that intervention elsewhere is relatively risk free; second, demonstrate United States irresolution to China and USA Third-World allies and thereby provoke doubt as to the value of Washington as an ally; and, thirdly, help confirm United States post-Vietnam post-Watergate global paralysis.

It is this paralysis which, it is feared, provided the main opportunity for Soviet geo-political expansion in the second half of the 1970s: the airlifting of Cuban forces into Angola (1975-76) and Ethiopia (1977-78); the support for Vietnamese expansion into Cambodia (1978); and direct Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979.

Western Europeans, who need only face Soviet power in Europe and whose interests and obligations therefore are only regional in scope, will consequently view the events of Latin America in largely regional terms — a superpower crushing the independence of a desperately poor nation-state that seeks only justice and freedom for her people.

The United States, which must face Soviet power in every continent on earth, and whose interests and obligations are therefore global in range, dare not regard the events in Central America in anything less than universal terms. For the United States, Soviet power is simply too great to take such a risk.

Daniel Parsons,
Worthing, Sussex.

BT buy-back plan could hurt Labour

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

AT ONE time the Labour Party's policy was to nationalise the "top hundred companies" without compensation. The companies were never actually named, and the proposal never appeared in an election manifesto, but its existence as part of party policy satisfied those who believe that clause four of the constitution, which pledges Labour to "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange," is central to its whole purpose.

But nationalisation is not much of a vote-winner, so Labour has come up with a new concept called "social ownership" which is expected to be put to the party conference for approval in October. The first target for social ownership will be British Telecom, which the Government privatised two years ago by selling off 51 per cent of its assets to 1.7 million shareholders in what was described as "the sale of the century".

Labour would give shareholders a choice of cashing in their shares at the 130p which they paid for them (they are at present worth 216p), or of exchanging them, on preferential terms, for non-voting securities which would have to be held for a specific length of time. This novel scheme would enable Labour to regain control of the industry without having to buy back all the shares.

The party's left wing, however, will almost certainly see this as a betrayal of clause four, and as further evidence of the leadership's readiness to renege on the party's socialist ideology. The right may see it as another vote-loser, since BT's new investors must include pension funds and trade unions, as well as many first-time shareholders who are traditional Labour supporters. A fierce debate seems guaranteed.

From the point of view of the leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, however, Labour must have some policy for countering the Tories' massive sell-off of public assets without an unacceptable level of borrowing and without alienating too many voters, so the social ownership device could also be used to reacquire enterprises such as British Gas and British Airways if Mrs Thatcher persists in selling them.

There is, for the moment, a lull in the privatisation programme. British Airways is still not attractive enough to be sold, and the Government last week abandoned its plans to sell off the country's monopoly water undertakings. The Environment Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, said the project had merely been postponed, but his announcement was interpreted as an admission either that the ill-conceived scheme had become too unpopular to proceed with, or that it was too complicated to put into effect.

None of the alleged benefits of privatisation — greater competition, financial discipline, improved choice for the consumer — are applicable to the water industry, and there have been growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife. The prospect of charging for water by usage (through meters) would also probably lead to reduced consumption, which would mean that profits could only come through increased prices. The City, understandably, came to see it as a poor prospect for investors.

There are increasing signs that the Government is looking for a period of tranquility between now and the general election, which doubtless explains why it proposes to take no immediate action on the controversial Peacock Report on the future of public service broadcasting. The Prime Minister still wants the BBC to have to compete for advertising revenue; still dislikes the relative independence which the corporation derives from its licence fees; still believes it to be guilty of left-wing bias. But the BBC has friends and admirers, worldwide, so its structure is safeguarded for the immediate future.

Mrs Thatcher's dislike of the BBC is shared by her party chairman, Mr Norman Tebbitt, who regularly attacks editors, producers, and sometimes journalists for what he believes is their built-in tendency to present views contrary to those of the Government. He has now set up a special "bias monitoring unit" in Conservative Central Office to compile evidence on which complaints to the broadcasting authorities can be based. (Labour, when in office, is equally critical of the BBC, which suggests that the corporation is perhaps not doing too bad a job.)

Last summer's inner city riots in Twickenham, London, were recalled this week when an inquiry headed by Lord Gifford concluded that the worst of the trouble could have been avoided by more sensitive policing and by greater cooperation between the police and the ethnic community on the Broadwater Farm estate.

The Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, has warned that any recurrence of what he called last summer's "unprecedented level of savagery" could mean police retaliation with plastic bullets, CS gas and armoured vehicles such as those used in Northern Ireland. The Home Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, has authorised the purchase of 24 bullet-proof vehicles and 80 armoured personnel carriers to protect officers against the petrol bombs and gunshots which, in Tottenham, led to the murder of a constable and fatal injuries to a press photographer.

The National Council for Civil Liberties described this extra equipment as "tooling up for trouble" rather than avoiding conflict. Though Sir Kenneth is acutely aware of the social tensions in the area he has to police and can hardly be blamed for taking steps to protect his force, Mr Hurd has flatly refused any inquiry that would examine the violence in the light of inner-city problems.

A police officer who killed a five-year boy during an armed raid on a house in Birmingham was acquitted of the boy's manslaughter. A Crown Court jury concluded, in the light of overwhelming evidence, that the shooting of John Shorthouse by Constable Brian Chester, a police marksman, was a tragic accident. There were, however, demands that the police should accept corporate responsibility by compensating the boy's family, and that there should be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried and used by the police.

The eminently respectable civil service union, the Civil and Public Services Association, elected as its new general secretary Mr John Macreadie who, besides being a lifelong Labour Party member, admitted to being a supporter of Militant, the extreme left-wing tendency which Labour is trying to expel from its ranks. His backers were thought to have been the lower-paid civil servants who, from behind their desks in unemployment benefit offices, are increasingly unable to cope with the harsh consequences of the Government's economic policies.

Setback in fight for women priests

By Walter Schwarz

THE Movement for the Ordination of Women reacted with defiance to a severe setback at the General Synod of the Church of England in York over the weekend.

A proposal to let women ordained abroad conduct services in England failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority in the houses of clergy and laity.

After winning simple majorities for its motion in all three houses — bishops, clergy and laity — the Movement for the Ordination of Women said: "It will now be impossible to prevent the hundreds of parishes who want women ordained from inviting women priests from abroad from officiating here."

But the Anglo-Catholic pressure group, Ecclesia, responded in a statement: "We now look to the diocesan bishops to ensure that the peace and unity of the Church of England is not destroyed by the implications of the threat by the Movement for the Ordination of Women to flood England with women priests from abroad."

The motion to admit women priests from abroad won 70 per cent in the house of bishops, 57.4 per cent in the house of clergy and 62.6 per cent in the house of laity.

In the debate, Deaconess Diana McClatchey, Moderator of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, asked people who strongly opposed women priests in principle, to abstain in the vote. Only six did.

She argued that the proposed reform meant only that when an Anglican woman ordained abroad "leaves her own province and comes to us, she is still a priest. Once we depart from this understanding of ordination, we introduce a new and alarming geographical element to our theology."

She said there were 743 Anglican women priests ordained abroad. Of the estimated 66 million baptised Anglicans, 50 million were members of provinces which ordained women or agreed in principle to ordain them.

Supporting the motion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said: "We cannot have little Englanders in the matter of church unity."

He rejected claims that the measure would complicate relations with Rome, which he argued had maintained its dialogue with the entire Anglican communion despite the ordination of numerous women priests.

Bishop tilts at laser beam miracles

By Walter Schwarz

THE Church of England was thrown into fresh doctrinal confusion on Sunday when the Bishop of Durham, in his strongest challenge to the official view of miracles, suggested that this implied a view of God that was "at best a cultic idol, and at the worst, the very devil."

Choking with emotion in parts of a speech that received an ovation from the York meeting of the General Synod, Dr David Jenkins said that New Testament miracles like the virgin birth and the empty tomb implied that God had "acted something like a divine laser beam which fuses the physical particles into a reality which is both divinely produced and divine."

He asked: "What sort of God are we portraying and believing in if we insist on the divine laser beam type of miracle as the heart and basis of the incarnation and the resurrection?"

Such miracles "would not seem to be the choice" which God would make. "We are faced with the claim that God is prepared to work knockdown physical miracles in order to select a number of people into the secret of His incarnation, resurrection and salvation, but is not prepared to use such methods in order to deliver from Auschwitz, prevent Hiroshima, overcome famine, or bring about a bloodless transformation of apartheid. Such a God is surely a cultic idol."

Earlier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, defended the bishops' recent report on the nature of Christian belief, issued in response to the Bishop of Durham's doubts on the virgin birth and the empty tomb.

Dr Runcie said: "We recognise honest difficulties in this delicate borderline between event and symbol, historical fact and interpretation."

In implicit criticism of the Bishop of Durham, he said: "Explorers will only receive the patient attention they deserve when they refuse to be lonely pioneers, and declare their solidarity with the household of faith."

OBITUARY

Prof. Gemme[ll] gardeners' voi[ce]

By Martin Wainwrigh[t]

PROFESSOR Alan Gem[mell] whose gentle Scottish voice [...] endear the most vicious w[...] followers of Gardeners' Qu[estion] Time on BBC radio, had died [...] 73.

His scholarly approach, [...] by 27 years as professor of [...] at Keele University, was an [...]rable foil to the more e[...] advice of colleagues on th[e pro]gramme like Bill Sowerbu[tts and] Fred Loads.

In the academic world h[...] respected as the author of D[...]mental Plant Anatomy, co[...] of the first volume of Ch[...] Botanica and contributor of [...] papers to learned journals. [...] natural ability as a broad[...] brought him a much wider [...]ence.

Professor Gemmell was ed[ucated] at Ayr Academy and Gl[...] University and his career [...] research botanist, from 193[...] his appointment at Keele in [...] took him to Manchester U[...]sity, the West of Scotland A[...]tural College and the [...] Midland Forensic Science L[...]tory.

With Messrs Sowerbutt[s and] Loads, he was one of the o[...] Gardeners' Question Time when the programme [...] launched in 1950. His co[...] opinions on dying aspi[...] wrongly-planted fennel an[...] pros and cons of the [...] mespilis ended when he ret[...] the Isle of Arran in 198[...] previous year, he had been [...]ed the OBE.

Letters to the Editor are wel[come] but not all can be acknowl[edged]. We don't like cutting the[m but] sometimes this is necessary [to fit] them in the page — short [letters] stand a better chance. Send [to] The Guardian Weekly, PO B[ox 19,] Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 [1DD,] England.

Howe asks for more time

By Hella Pick

THE Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, will urge the African frontline states during visits to Lusaka and Harare this week to give his "peace mission" to South Africa more time and not confront Mrs Thatcher with a sanctions ultimatum during the mini Commonwealth summit in London on August 3.

The likelihood is that he will be given a dusty answer, and told that Mrs Thatcher's honourable and sensible course now is to take the lead in going to the United Nations Security Council with a proposal for mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

But the Foreign Secretary, having now been assured that President P. W. Botha and members of his Cabinet will agree to meet him during the last week of July, is already planning a second trip, this time mainly to South Africa, despite the rebuffs he has received from all sides in that country. He is determined to persevere with his search for miracles.

He will appeal to President Kenneth Kaunda and to Mr Robert Mugabe to support his efforts to convince South Africa's anti-apartheid leaders, especially the gaoled ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, that they should agree to meet him when he goes to South Africa.

It is recognised in London that it is crucial for Sir Geoffrey to see Mr Mandela as early as possible in an effort to secure his support. Without his blessing, it is unlikely that any black leader in South Africa can be persuaded to meet the British Foreign Secretary, apart from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

But Mr Mandela is said to be very reluctant. His wife, Winnie, has already said that she would not meet the Foreign Secretary.

President Botha is playing hard to get. He kept the British Government waiting for most of last week before indicating that he was too busy for a meeting this week — he is said to be on holiday — but would be prepared to schedule one before the end of the month.

The ANC leaders in exile are saying they are willing to talk with Sir Geoffrey while he is in the Zambian capital. He wants to use the opportunity to urge the ANC to overcome their suspicions of British motives, and to accept Mrs Thatcher's view that Britain deserves to be given this last chance to try and pull the South African authorities out of the quagmire of their own making.

He will ask the frontline states and the exiled ANC leaders to reflect that Britain is now acting on behalf of the EEC, and has the support of the US Administration and effectively of all the major Western industrialised states with a big economic stake in South Africa. If Pretoria will still listen to any outsider, then his voice would surely carry more weight than Commonwealth threats of sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary believes he has no alternative but to warn that the South African Government's response to his "peace mission" is likely to be slow in coming.

The Foreign Office has also now realised that it forgot to take into account the fact that the National Party holds its annual congress on August 12, and that Mr Botha would be most unlikely to risk any concessions before that important meeting, even if he were inclined to do so.

The Foreign Secretary has to convince the Commonwealth that President Botha should be given the benefit of the doubt, at least until then. But Britain, in making the case for patience until August 12, also knows that a failure by President Botha to announce major concessions will produce a situation where Mrs Thatcher will come under irresistible pressure to opt for South Africa's economic and political isolation.



"Actually this is quite promising — I still have my foot in the door!"

Restrictions on Winnie Mandela lifted

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

This report was compiled subject to the emergency regulations imposed on the press by the South African Government.

ALL restrictions on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the gaoled African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, have been lifted. For the first time in nearly a decade, she is as free as any of her black South African compatriots.

Captain Henry Beck, a spokesman of the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed on Monday that Mrs Mandela was no longer restricted under South Africa's Internal Security Act.

She can now be quoted by the South African press on two conditions. Her statements must not be subversive as defined in the emergency regulations and must not be calculated to further the objects of the outlawed ANC. Those restrictions apply to all South Africans.

Captain Beck advised the media to take legal advice before quoting Mrs Mandela, a forthright woman who, in the past, repeatedly defied the ministerial decree prohibiting her from living in her Soweto home and from talking to the press.

The lifting of the curbs on the "mother of the nation," as Mrs Mandela's admirers have dubbed her, followed a Supreme Court ruling that it was not enough for the Minister of Law to state that he was satisfied that it was in the interests of law and order to restrict any person. He had, the court found, to state why he thought the person was a threat to public order.

Captain Beck's confirmation that Mrs Mandela is now as free as any black South African came only hours before a strong attack on her husband by the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation as a "self-confessed Communist revolutionary who . . . still believes in violence as a means of achieving political change."

The attack on Mr Mandela was linked to the planned mission to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to try to persuade the South African Government to release Mr Mandela and to unban the ANC. The SABC said that the ANC's leaders refused to consider abandoning violence and were, moreover, closely tied to the Soviet Union through the South African Communist Party.

Leading South African businessmen and industrialists earlier called on the Government to release Mr Mandela. In a statement published in Johannesburg's Sunday Star newspaper, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the giant Anglo American Mining Corporation, said; "Whether one likes the ANC or not — and I personally do not like its policy of violence nor its Marxist economic thinking — it constitutes an important factor in the South African political set-up."

He added that Mr Mandela, who is serving a life sentence after being convicted in 1964 of sabotage, "has become a myth, and I believe the ANC should be challenged for what it is."

A number of other leading South African businessman supported the appeal for Mr Mandela's release, including the heads of the food group, Premier Milling, the biggest sugar corporation, Tongaat-Hulett, the main retail chain stores and the southern African division of BP.

More than 2,000 striking black miners last week forced the closure of four De Beers diamond mines in Kimberley, in the northern Cape, as the protest by South Africa's black workers against the detention of their trade union leaders gathered momentum.

A spokesman for De Beers conceded that the strike had been triggered by demands for the release of union leaders. He recalled that the chairman of the company, Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, had warned the Minister of Law and Order last month that critical wage negotiations were pending, and that the detentions would make it impossible for the unions to represent the workers.

Mr Marcel Golding, the spokesman for the black National Union of Mineworkers said that some 8,000 miners had also staged go-slows at Free State Consolidated, which employs more than 50,000 miners. In reply, the owners, Anglo-American Corporation, said that 3,000 miners were involved in a virtual strike at one shaft at Free State Geduld, a mine in a giant complex which employs 12,000 miners. The miners showed up but "were not producing much," the corporation spokesman, Mr Paul Clotheir, said.

Reports of the detention of 1,000 dismissed municipal workers in the black township of Tembisa are likely to aggravate existing tensions. The Bureau for Information declined to comment on the ground that it was prohibited from doing so by the emergency regulations.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was at the core of major controversy last week, after a defiant speech in which he virtually invited the world to impose sanctions so that South Africa could demonstrate its will and ability to withstand them.

His speech was sharply criticised by Mr Ray Swart of the Progressive Federal Party. Mr Swart said: "He is inviting sanctions as if he has some sort of death wish. He sounds like a latter-day Ian Smith."

Charges of murder, arson and assault will be brought against 780 people detained under the state of emergency, South Africa's Bureau for Information said. "When formally charged, the accused will have normal access to their legal representatives, and process of law, will take its normal course." This was the first official indication that the number detained under emergency regulations runs at least to hundreds.

Three groups of people had already been charged with attempted murder for trying to "necklace" people by placing a burning tyre around their necks, the bureau said.

The decision to prosecute the 780 detainess contrasts with the failure to charge all but a handful of those interned during the partial emergency between July 21 last year and March 7 this year. According to the Detainee Parents' Support Committee, more than 7,992 people were detained then, but only about 2 per cent were charged.

The committee said that it plans to appeal to the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and Lawyers for Human Rights to try to persuade the Government to break the silence about arrests. It urged that the names of detainees be published immediately upon detention, saying that it knew of 2,600 people who had been taken into custody or reported missing.

The bomb explosion in central Johannesburg on Tuesday last week was caused by a limpet mine of Soviet origin. A further bomb exploded outside a police station in Cape Town on Thursday last week, injuring a policewoman and a policeman, and bringing to 12 the number of bomb explosions since the declaration of the state of emergency. The explosions have claimed the lives of three women, two white and one Indian. Nearly 100 people have been injured, most of them white. The bombs do not appear to have seriously unnerved whites, but they have certainly brought the reality of the war home to them.

The Citizen, which was founded on money provided secretly by the now-defunct department of information, said: "The blast in central Johannesburg in which six women and two children were injured — one of them a baby — is another example of the utter callousness and unconcern for life and limb that the African National Congress displays."

Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu condemned the bomb attacks in towns and cities, and called for talks to resolve political differences. Describing the bomb attacks as "acts of terrorism," Bishop Tutu said: "The problems of our country cannot be solved by the violence of injustice, oppression and exploitation, nor by that of those who seek to overthrow such a repressive system."

Blacks suspected that the attacks were the work of rightwingers, while whites blamed them on black radicals, Bishop Tutu said. He added: "There is still much goodwill left. Can't we get together and talk? Can't those recognised as authentic leaders and representatives of all our people get together and talk?"

US reviewing Zimbabwe policy

THE United States is reviewing its aid policy towards Zimbabwe after failing to receive an apology for a virulent attack at a diplomatic reception in Harare on the West for its policies in South Africa. At a reception, the Zimbabwe Sports Minister, Mr David Karimanzira, accused the Western powers of doing nothing to end apartheid because of their "massive and profitable investments" in South Africa.

The former US president, Mr Jimmy Carter, had addressed the crowd of 300 for a few minutes, saying how pleased he was to have been able to guide US foreign policy which helped to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwo.

At his turn to propose a toast, Mr Karimanzira, reading from a prepared speech, pointed out that the United States and Britain had in recent years imposed sanctions against many countries, including the Soviet Union, Libya, Nicaragua, Poland, Afghanistan, and Argentina, but they baulked at imposing sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Carter walked out, along with the US chargé d'affaires in Zimbabwe, Mr Gibson Lanpher, and other British and Western diplomats.

Government wants free market in broadcasting

By Dennis Barker and John Carvel

A FREE market in television and radio broacasting with possible "pay-as-you-view" metering to replace the licence system received broad approval from the Government last week.

However, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, made it clear that legislation based on the Peacock report into future funding of broadcasting would be shelved until after the next general election. He confirmed that ministers do not accept the proposal to weaken regulations on good taste, decency and political balance.

A member of the Peacock committee described one of its most radical proposals — hiving off BBC Radios 1 and 2 to commercial operators who could take advertising — as daft and damaging.

A few Conservative MPs were disappointed that the BBC would not be quickly made to take advertising and to cut the licence fee. However, it seemed that there was little pressure on Mr Hurd from his backbenchers, save for some ritualised criticism of the BBC's supposed anti-Tory bias.

A Cabinet committee chaired by the Prime Minister is to give detailed consideration of the report with publication of a green paper on radio broadcasting scheduled for the autumn. But the broadcasting bill to implement reform will not be presented until after the general election.

The Government is also likely to have to produce a holding position on the television licence fee before the next election. It has been pegged at £58 until the end of March, 1988, but before then the BBC will need some indication of its likely income for the following period.

Mr Hurd said that the committee's plans for a competitive market in television services "fits well with our general philosophy". But he rejected proposals to put broadcasting on a regulatory footing equal to that of the press on matters of good taste and political balance.

The next licence round begins next year, when the IBA is due to advertise franchises for independent broadcasting contracts for the eight years from 1990. Mr Hurd told MPs that although no decision had been made on the licence auction idea the IBA would be obliged to keep the option open as the franchising procedure began.

The BBC and ITV welcomed the report's conclusion that the BBC should continue to be funded by the licence fee system for the time being,and should not have to take advertising. There was less enthusiasm for privatising Radios 1 and 2 to take advertising.

The director-general of the BBC, Mr Alastair Milne, said: "It remains our policy to try to offer an effective range of programmes to all sections of the public. We believe therefore that Radio 1 and 2 listeners have the same claim to a share of the BBC licence fee as do the listeners to Radios 3 and 4."

The ITV companies were surprised and disappointed that a majority on the comittee had advocated putting their franchises up for auction. A tendering system would lead towards concentration on "profit performance rather than programme performance," they said.

But the most spirited clash came within the committee at the report's launch in London.

Professor Alastair Hetherington and Miss Judith Chalmers, the broadcaster, did not accept the committee's majority recommendation that the two most popular BBC radio channels should be hived off. They supported a rival recommendation that the BBC should be given the option of selling off the channels.

Professor Hetherington said: "It is daft because no-one has thought out what would be sold. You cannot sell Jimmy Young, even if you wanted to. It is damaging because it does break up the universality of the BBC's radio services, and it is damaging to the External Services."

The recommendation that ITV franchises be auctioned to the highest bidder was not daft but unworkable, he said. The Independent Broadcasting Authority would have to choose between franchisers with a track record of making programmes and newcomers with no record but plenty of money.

The committee makes concrete recommendations only for the first of what it sees as a three-stage process towards a free market pay-per-programme television system in the 21st century.

In stage one, the licence fee would be indexed to the cost of living and the BBC would carry on virtually as at present. In stage two, which the committee admits is speculative, the BBC would go over to a subscription service by pay-channel "well into the 1990s".

In the third stage there would be "pay-per-programme" subscription with an increased number of programme suppliers, of which the BBC would be only one.

The committee suggests that new television sets should be adapted to prevent programmes being seen by anyone not paying a subscription. It suggests a date for this not later than January 1, 1988, and envisages that the device would cost about £25 at today's prices.

Several suggestions are made on how to make paying the licence fee more palatable. They include instalments, and exemption for pensioners and people on supplementary benefit.

The committee wants to reduce the cost of the television licence by charging at least £10 for a car radio and thinks that black and white television licences should be nearer the price of those for colour.

Police armoured force approved

By Gareth Parry

SIR Kenneth Newman gave a warning last week that a recurrence of what he termed "unprecedented level of savagery" in London riots last autumn could mean police retaliation with plastic bullets, CS gas and armoured vehicles such as those used in Northern Ireland.

The Metropolitan Police commissioner's warning came with the publication of his Public Order Review of his force's action at Broadwater Farm, Tottenham, and Brixton, when PC Keith Blakelock and Mr David Hodge, a press photographer, were fatally injured.

Later, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, announced in a Common's written reply that he had given permission for the police to buy 24 bullet proof vehicles and 80 armoured personnel carriers to protect then against gunshots and petrol bombs which were used in last year's riots.

Seven hundred additional radios and 1,500 long truncheons will also be purchased.

These truncheons — 2ft 4in long — would be deployed, Mr Hurd said, by police officers carrying riot shields "only in a situation of extreme disorder, where other methods have failed or are unlikly to succeed."

Their use could only be authorised by an officer of at least Commander rank, and used under the control and direction of the senior officer in charge at the scene of a riot.

The Home Secretary, who welcomed Sir Kenneth's review, reiterated his backing for the commissioner over the use, under the threat of extreme disorder, of plastic bullets and CS gas.

Sir Kenneth conceded at a press conference last week that the police had some difficulties in dealing with last autumn's riots.

These included the lack of adequate radio communication and the lack of time to brief officers which resulted in abandonment of a contingency plan to deal with trouble in the Broadwater Farm estate.

He said the use of firearms against police in Tottenham for the first time in a riot on mainland Britain made it imperative that police should be prepared, with armoured vehicles for other such events in the future.

Sir Kenneth said that the public should not be unnecessarily alarmed: "I think the public will understand that when the police are faced with the level of violence with guns, petrol bombs and other quite horrendous instruments that the police need a higher level of capability."

CS gas and plastic bullets were, he said, all weapons of "last resort."

Water cannon are still being tested by the Home Office. But they are, so far, considered too cumbersome to use in narrow streets, where they could themselves become a rioter's target.

Sir Kenneth said that apparatus which could generate a "shrill sound" to divert rioters had been abandoned as unsuitable.

The review rejects creation of a "third force" — or riot police squad — because the force's resources could not afford it.

But Sir Kenneth said that newly formed territorial support groups in each of London's eight police areas which now numbers 800 men would "take us to a point midway to a third force".

Palace fire drills to be enforced

By Susan Tirbutt

FIRE precautions at royal palaces are to be formally checked as a result of a highly critical report, published last week, on the fire at Hampton Court Palace in March.

The report, by Sir John Garlick, recommends that realistic fire drills are carried out. It finds that the fire was probably started by a naked flame in a grace and favour apartment around midnight on March 31.

The body of Lady Gale, aged 86, the widow of General Sir Richard Gale, was found in the main bedroom of her apartment. She died from carbon monoxide poisoning.

There had been previous incidents which might have caused fires in her apartment, says the report, which fails to say exactly where and how the fire started.

The fire destroyed the Cartoon gallery, a small part of the Wren south gallery, and many works of art.

The report dismisses suggestions that it was started deliberately to destroy the Cartoon gallery panelling, which was evidence in a two-year fraud squad investigation into work done under contract by the Property Services Agency. Papers in the case have been passed to the Director of Public Prosecutions, Scotland Yard said.

The fire was discovered after an intruder alarm was activated at 5.20am, but the automatic fire detection system did not operate until about 6.15am.

Earlier discovery of the fire would not have averted Lady Gale's death, but would have prevented damage.

Sir John could not establish why the fire was not discovered earlier, but probably the automatic fire detective system had been unintentionally made ineffective.

The report offers and then dismisses various possible explanations on how the fire started.

It treats with caution the possibility that smoke detectors had been deliberately covered with polythene to prevent further false alarms. Palace officials had already forbidden this, after finding a detector covered in a room used by one of the "cottage industries".

Detailed recommendations for improving the fire alarm system include putting in a memory facility to record which alarms worked when. More effective fire drills with the fire brigade and palace staff and more training are also recommended.

THE WEEK

UNDER cover of a new security plan, Syrian troops from the elite "special forces" appeared in the streets of West Beirut for the first time since the Syrian army was driven from the Lebanese capital during the 1982 Israeli invasion.

Informed sources said the soldiers — reported 200 in all — arrived in West Beirut from the Syrian-controlled Beka'a Valley to join a small but steadily growing Syrian military presence in West Beirut, temporarily headed by General Ghazi Kanaan, head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon and reportedly including five colonels at the head of an 66-man "observer force."

NICARAGUA has expelled Bishop Pablo Vega for what the Government described as "anti-patriotic and criminal behaviour". Bishop Vega, vice-president of the Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference, is an outspoken critic of the Sandinistas.

Nicaragua's Catholic primate described the expulsion as "a violation of human rights", and the Pope, speaking in Columbia described it as "an almost incredible act".

The Government said Bishop Vega's support of the contras had made him an accessory to a conta landmine explosion in northern Nicaragua which killed 32 civilians on board a bus. The attack happened at Bocayolto in Jinolega province, about 100 miles north-east of Managua. The victims included 12 children, 12 women and eight men.

POLICE shot two members of a Sikh extremist gang that rampaged through the Punjab, shooting dead six people and injuring two children.

The gunbattle came during 24 hours of violence in the north Indian state, in which 13 people were killed in disturbances sparked by extremists seeking a separate Sikh nation. So far this month, 23 people have been killed in extremist violence.

Police also said gunmen killed a paramilitary policeman in an attack on the New Delhi home of Mrs Gurbinder Kaur Brar, a Sikh who leads the Congress Party in the Punjab state legislature.

MR JAGJIVAN RAM, for 40 years the standard-bearer of India's Harijan (Untouchable) community, died in New Delhi, aged 78. He was one of the last survivors in the present Parliament of the interim government that paved the way for independence.

After holding ministerial posts in several Congress administrations he joined the Opposition when Mrs Gandhi called an election in 1977. After the Janata Party victory, he was disappointed at not being chosen as the first Harijan Prime Minister, settling reluctantly for the defence ministry and one of two deputy premierships.

THREE more generals have been appointed to the Polish Communist Party Politburo. They are General Jozef Baryla, who oversees social and ideological matters, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the Internal Affairs Minister, and General Florian Siwicki, the Defence Minister. *Gorbachev seal of approval, page 12.*

MOZAMBIQUE has accused Malawi of helping South African-backed rebels logistically and materially in their attacks on Mozambique targets. The country's leading military figure, Col.-Gen. Sebastiao Mabote, accused South Africa of trying to divide Mozambique at the Zambezi and Save rivers.

Mozambique and other Frontline States have made recent undisclosed and unsuccessful diplomatic approaches to ask Dr Banda's Government to halt his aid to South African military and propaganda experts whose use of Malawi is increasing.

THE Paris police chief, Mr Guy Fougier, has resigned in a public row with the Interior Minister, Mr Charles Pasqua, who accused him on television of rigging crime statistics to please the former Socialist government. His resignation is likely to cast doubt on new security measures in the capital instituted by Mr Pasqua, who has been leading a law-and-order campaign.

THE killing by Peru's armed forces of between 250 and 400 prisoners in three Lima gaols has brought the resignation of the Justice Minister, Mr Luis Gonzalez Posada. Mr Gonzalez Posada's dismissal came hours after that of General Maximo Martinez, commander of the small Republican Guard paramilitary police force. President Garcia has accused the Republican Guard of having slaughtered more than 100 guerrilla prisoners after they had surrendered at Lurigancho gaol.

THE Reagan Administration is getting rid of its ambassador in Honduras, Mr John Ferch, as part of its campaign to step up the pressure on Nicaragua. No successor has been named yet but analysts expect "a real driver" of US policy interests to replace Mr Ferch, who drew criticism over his alleged failure to mobilise the Honduran Government into more vigorous protests over the Nicaraguan invasion in March.

A PIANIST from Belfast, Barry Douglas, won the top prize in the International Tchaikovsky competition in Moscow. It was the first time since 1958 that a foreigner has taken first prize without splitting the award with a Soviet musician.

Douglas, 28, of Belfast, who studied at the Royal College of Music in London, impressed listeners with the strength and brightness of his playing. His performance of Tchaikovsky's Concerto No. 1 in B Flat Minor drew a 10-minute ovation.

NZ lets French agents go

By Campbell Page in Paris and Ian Templeton in Wellington

THE TWO French secret agents involved in the bombing of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, which killed a photographer, are to leave gaol in New Zealand immediately for three years "confinement" on the South Pacific atoll of Hao, a French territory with an open air cinema, bars, and a night club.

The release of the two agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, is part of a UN-mediated deal between France and New Zealand, which also includes an official French apology to the New Zealand Government for the attack on the ship a year ago, payment of nearly £5 million in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports.

France and New Zealand on Monday welcomed the agreement, arranged by the UN Secretary General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, but there were signs in New Zealand of a political row over its acceptance. The Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, told a news conference: "I feel an amazing sense of vindication. We will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government.

But the leader of the Opposition, Mr Jim Bolger, said that New Zealand had been "humiliated" and Mr Lange "made to look an idiot." He recalled that as recently as April the Prime Minister had said the agents were not for sale.

Such criticisms are likely to be reinforced by details now emerging of life on Hao, a French military staging base for the nuclear test range at Moruroa, According to Mr Lange, Hao is a desolate place with few facilities. But French military personnel who have served there speak of a pleasant officers' club, bars, and a night club, excellent housing, and sailing and water sports in the lagoon.

In Paris, it emerged that the two agents will have full access to family and friends but will not be allowed to leave the island without the agreement of the two governments. Nor can they give interviews or write for publication.

A spokesman for the French Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac emphasised that they were being transferred to French territory and the Prime Minister himself referred to the new assignments awaiting them, while Mr Lange underlined that they were not being set free.

The beneficiaries of the settlement were widely known as the Turenge couple because they entered New Zealand as a married couple on forged Swiss passports using the fictitious name.

Both coped well with the stress of trial and imprisonment. Captain Prieur, a 36-year-old woman, passed her time jogging, knitting, and listening to music. Major Mafart, aged 35 and a seasoned campaigner for the intelligence services, pursued his interest in sport and guitar-playing. Mr Chirac on Monday praised "the exemplary dignity" with which both officers had been serving their sentences.

Mr Perez de Cuellar came closer to the New Zealand than the French position in settling a figure for compensation — $7 million instead of the $4 million suggested by Paris and the $9 million sought by Wellington.

Mr Chirac will also deliver a full and formal apology to New Zealand for the attack on the Rainbow Warrior and the breach of international law.

France will end its war of attrition against New Zealand imports. The French authorities have been using import licences and regulations to block consignments and apply pressure on the New Zealand Government.

In the settlement, France undertakes not to oppose butter imports through the EEC to Britain in 1987 and 1988, and not to take any measures to block meat imports to the EEC.

Mr Lange told reporters that the New Zealand Government regarded the Secretary-General's ruling as a fair and just resolution of the differences between France and New Zealand over the Rainbow Warrior bombing. The ruling specifically met New Zealand's requirements, he said — for an apology, for compensation, for a lifting of trade restraints, and for the continued detention of the two agents.

New Zealand also regarded it as fundamental that a mechanism has been provided for arbitration should any dispute arise, and a three-monthly report is to be made to the UN Secretary-General on the situation of Marfart and Prieur in Hao.

Mr Lange said that the Secretary-General's determination that the two agents should be detained in Hao had "an exquisite irony which will not be lost on the French."

"It is, I believe, an appropriate outcome, albeit one that was unexpected," he said.

Nakasone jubilant as Opposition crushed

By Robert Whymant in Tokyo

JAPAN'S ruling Liberal Democratic Party scored a stunning victory in Sunday's elections, exceeding the wildest hopes of the Prime Minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, and greatly boosting his prospects of staying in office when his second term expires in October.

After its most impressive electoral triumph in recent years, the party which has ruled Japan for three decades will now form a new government, with the 68-year-old Mr Nakasone firmly in control.

"I never thought we would get 304 seats," he said jubilantly when the results were announced. "It was the voice of God, the voice of heaven."

The rightwing LDP won 300 of the 512 seats in the Lower House. Before Mr Nakasone dissolved Parliament, his party held 250 out of 511 seats (one seat was added under a modest electoral reform). The LDP's strength was further enhanced when it absorbed four independent conservatives even before the last results were announced.

The final returns left the main Opposition party, the Socialists, with a mere 85 seats, far short of the 109 they held in the last Parliament, and a post-war low. The Komeito (clean government party) and the Democratic Socialist Party, both centrist groups, also fared badly. Komeito took 56 seats, two short of its pre-election strength, and the DSP 26 seats, against 38 in the last Parliament.

Only the Japan Communist Party held its own, maintaining its pre-election figure of 26 Lower House seats.

The New Liberal Club, which the LDP enlisted in a coalition after failing to win a majority in the last election three years ago, captured six seats, two fewer than before. But, having retrieved the honour he lost in 1983, Mr Nakasone can now dispense with outside support.

At the top of his agenda, said an elated Mr Nakasone, will be legislation this autumn to privatise the State railways, and, with the rough power balance between the ruling and Opposition parties now overturned, there seems nothing standing in the way of this and other pet policies, including education reform, and a boost in the nation's military strength.

Clearly shaken by the results, the Socialist Party leader, Mr Masashi Ishibashi, indicated his intention to resign. It was clear that the Socialists were taken off their guard when Mr Nakasone dissolved Parliament to go to the country a few days after assuring Mr Ishibashi said there would be no elections. Not surprisingly, the Socialist leader denounced the Prime Minister repeatedly during the campaign as an "accomplished liar."

The sweeping conservative gains are above all a personal victory for Mr Nakasone, who has gambled his political future on the outcome. They are bound to be seen, too, as an endorsement of his personal brand of nationalism, summed up in his favourite catchphrase "Sengo no sokessan," which literally translated means "settling post-war accounts."

This sounds harmless enough to the average Japanese. They vaguely identify it with Mr Nakasone's efforts to make Japan an important player on the world stage.

When he meets Western leader it is on equal terms: he shakes hands, does not bow, and, unlike most of his predecessors, is as tall as the other leaders. Opinion surveys suggest that the Japanese are glad to have a Prime Minister who measures up to the white man at international summits.

Outlining election issues last month, Mr Nakasone called the 40 years since the war "the most brilliant period of our history." But he said that the post-war system — which the American victors introduced — had produced "various distortions." He believes his mission is to correct these "distortions."

One of the "distortions," in the Prime Minister's eyes, is the education system — what he has termed "principles of education prescribed to our country by the Allied occupation forces." He has pledged to change it.

General MacArthur intended that the post-war democratic system should free Japan from the shackles of feudalism and prevent resurgence of the militarism.

This includes the "peace Constitution" which hampers Mr Nakasone's ambition to build a militarily strong Japan. From the start of his political career, he has inveighed against the Constitution, produced under American guidance, as an "artificial flower," and asserted that "true democracy is rooted in correct nationalism."

Explaining "correct nationalism," Mr Nakasone harks back to pre-war values, when Japanese people respected the cult of the Emperor, swore obedience to the national flag, and put duty to the State before individual rights.

He says he wants "patriotism" taught in schools and to rid new generations of Japanese of guilt-feelings about what he calls the "great East Asian war." A new textbook, compiled by a rightwing group close to Mr Nakasone, accurately reflects this thinking.

As originally approved by the Education Ministry — to a storm of protest from neighbouring countries — the textbook, to be used in high schools next year is silent on Japanese wartime atrocities.

Hussein clampdown on PLO

THE Jordanian Government announced on Monday that it is closing down all 25 offices of Mr Yasser Arafat's mainstream Fatah guerrilla group in Amman and expelling a number of PLO personnel.

The decision, which could have profound consequences for Middle East politics, follows growing tension between Jordan and the PLO, which began in February when King Hussein announced he was breaking off political cooperation with the guerrilla organisation. Fatah is the largest component of the PLO.

Jordan's official Petra news agency said that the government decision had been taken in response to a statement by Fatah's Revolutionary Council in Tunis on June 18.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, the expulsion order includes Mr Khalil Al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Mr Arafat's deputy as commander of all PLO forces and the most senior Palestinian official still living in Jordan.

By our Middle East Correspondent

"We regret this spirit of revenge because we are trying to preserve brotherly relations," Mr Al-Wazir told reporters in Amman. But he said he believed he would be expelled.

Jordanian officials said that the decision would not affect 12 PLO offices dealing with non-military Palestinian affairs, and it seems likely that members of the PLO's executive committee and departments dealing with the affairs of the Israeli-occupied West Bank will be permitted to stay.

The Jordanian Government statement took care to note that Jordan would continue to work with the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" — a position it has enjoyed since the 1974 Arab summit.

But there was no disguising the fact that King Hussein's move was intended — and widely interpreted — as a grievous blow to Mr Arafat at a time when the PLO is politically and militarily weak and its membership is scattered. The decision leaves open the likelihood that Jordan will step up its recent attempts to win back influence in the West Bank and possibly consider entering peace talks with Israel.

Ms Anna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper Al-Fajr and a leading PLO supporter in the West Bank, said that the Jordanian move meant a final and irrevocable break with the PLO and that Amman would now lose all its remaining influence.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates July 7	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2 4135-2.4175	2.3807-2 3859
Austria	23.38-23.41	23.51-23 54
Belgium	68.26-68.46	68.42-68 62
Canada	2 1146-2.1175	2 1237-2 1274
Denmark	12 38-12.41	12 42-12.46
France	10.70-10.72	10.69-10.71
Germany	3.34-3 35	3 34-3.35
Hong Kong	12 04-12.05	12.04-12 06
Ireland	1 1070-1.1080	1.1100-1 1110
Italy	2.298-2,299	2,294-2,298
Japan	246.44-246.83	247.25-247.64
Netherlands	3 763-3 768	3 76-3 77
Norway	11 40-11.42	11.44-11 46
Portugal	225 81-227.49	227.53-229.22
Spain	212 54-212 84	213.52-213.81
Sweden	10 83-10.85	10.88-10.91
Switzerland	2 72-2.73	2.713-2.717
USA	1.5340-1.5350	1.5400-1 5410
ECU	1.5580-1.5599	1.5592-1 5626

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American scientists to inspect on site

By Martin Walker in Moscow

A GROUP of American scientists were due to leave Moscow this week to install for the first time seismic monitoring devices around the main Soviet underground test site for nuclear weapons at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan.

The scientists, from the US-based Natural Resource Defence Council, are placing the instruments as part of a private venture, with official US Government backing. But their action could embarrass the Reagan Administration, which continues to base its rejection of any nuclear test ban agreement on the issue of verification.

The team of nine scientists will monitor activity at the Semipalatinsk site by installing three sets of instruments. They will build up a set of measurements of local seismic activity, and assess the effect of earthquakes and even US nuclear tests.

The result should be a virtually foolproof system to check whether the Russians are abiding by any future test ban treaty.

The team has been welcomed by the Soviet authorities, which are still abiding by a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests. The American scientists have undertaken to provide both the US and the Soviet Governments with data they collect.

There would be useful data to record even if there were no Soviet nuclear tests in the region during the monitoring period, said Dr Thomas Cockrane, the NRDC's senior scientist, who will lead the group to Semipalatinsk.

"We believe that modern seismic methods make it possible to achieve reliable verification," Professort Mikhail Sodovsky, Director of the Soviet Institute of Geophysics, told the Soviet press agency, Novoski.

"Our national systems can already verify the observance of any ban on testing. However, the US Congress demands a kind of super guarantee. In our view, this is excessive, though we are ready to do extra work with American scientists."

More optimism about a summit

PRESIDENT REAGAN has for the first time expressed optimism that a summit with the Soviet leader later this year may produce tangible results on arms control, as well as on regional and human rights issues.

In a White House transcript of an interview with the President, he explains that his optimism is based on a letter from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev last week, in which he says the Soviet leader has opened "additional doors" on arms control, on regional conficts and also on human rights and immigration. The letter was "quite a packet and worthwhile," Mr Reagan said.

Despite President Reagan's apparent confidence that the way to a productive summit has now been opened, Administration officials remain profoundly cautious. Some sceptics are apparently suspicious that the Soviet Union may not make up its mind on a summit until it sees a US answer to its latest arms control proposals, and receives US assurances that US strategic arsenals will be maintained at more or less their present levels, even if the Salt II treaty is technically pronounced dead.

Important progress has been achieved towards a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, according to a senior Soviet official, General Nikolai Chervov, who is on a brief visit to London.

Asserting that "agreement has been reached in principle, on all but one of the major outstanding issues," with only the question of controlling chemical production in the private sector still to be resolved, General Chervov said that the other "minor" differences could be worked out.

Britain is closely involved in the chemical weapons negotiations. But the Foreign Office was surprised by General Chervov's optimism, and appeared doubtful that any breakthrough had yet been achieved on provisions for compliance with a chemical weapons ban, in particular the circumstances under which the Soviet Union would agree to on-site inspection.

This issue has been as central to the negotiations as the Soviet Union's insistence that the private sector, including multinational companies, must be covered by the provisions of the treaty as well as state-owned facilities.

General Chervov is head of the directorate of the Soviet chief of staff, and is one of the Kremlin's senior spokesman on arms control.

By Hella Pick

Meanwhile, Congressional pressure is building up on the US Administration to halt production of the troubled BigEye chemical bomb in the wake of the latest test data. Pentagon officials judged the most recent tests to be a qualified success, although at least one key component failed repeatedly.

But a bipartisan group of 20 senators wrote to the Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, on June 26, saying: "All of us will vote against producing any weapon that has failed its tests for utility, reliability, and effectiveness."

The BigEye bomb, one of several new weapons being developed by the Pentagon to replace existing chemical arms stockpiles, can expect rough congressional treatment later this month. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives are due to consider moves that would eliminate money for BigEye from military budgets in 1987.

The United States has intercepted a missile moving at three times the speed of sound, thanks to Star Wars technology, Mr Casper Weinberger, the Defence Secretary, announced with great fanfare last week.

Mr Weinberger told a Pentagon press conference that the successful experiment involving a non-nuclear device and carried out secretly, had moved the US "much farther towards our goal of defence against missiles of all ranges."

According to Pentagon officials, the test would allow the US to defend itself against in-coming Russian ballistic missiles at the "terminal" phase after they have entered the atmosphere heading towards American targets.

The Flag Experiment involved destroying a target that was launched from a plane at 44,000 feet, the Pentagon said. The interception actually took place at 12,000 feet above the earth in an experiment that was "designed to strengthen deterrence by finding a better way to destroy enemy missiles."

The Defence Secretary was clearly determined to use the test to keep the SDI research programme on track. Both houses of Congress have taken steps to slash funds from President Reagan's proposed $4.9 billion spending on SDI this year.

Mr Weinberger may also fear that Administration moderates will be tempted to slow research on Star Wars in exchange for an agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce strategic nuclear systems.

Drug dealers hanged

TWO Australian heroin traffickers, Brian Chambers and Kevin Barlow, were hanged shortly before dawn in Kuala Lumpur on Monday, after a flurry of last-minute appeals to the Malaysian authorities for mercy or a stay of execution failed.

The two were the first Westerners to hang under Malaysia's tough anti-drugs laws, which prescribe death for anyone convicted of having over 15 grammes of heroin.

Chambers and Barlow, who was born in Stoke and who also held British nationality, were arrested on the resort island of Penang in November, 1983, with 180 grammes of heroin and given mandatory death sentences last July. An appeal failed last December.

Chambers and Barlow were hanged despite appeals for clemency from the Australian and British Prime Ministers and from the human rights group Amnesty Int.

Top historian suspended

By Paul Webster in Paris

A FRAUD perpetrated by extreme rightwingers intended to back theories that the Nazi gas chambers never existed was condemned by the Universities Minister, Mr Alain Devaquet, last week, when he suspended one of France's top historians from his university post and cancelled a doctorate secretly awarded to a rightwing militant.

The decision came after weeks of protest by human rights organisations, university professors and Jewish organisations against the award of a doctorate to Mr Henri Roques, aged 66, who has a long history of association with Neo-Nazi groups, including the former Black Internationals.

A local paper revealed that Mr Roques, a historian specialising in anti-semitic research, had been awarded his doctorate by a secretly convened university jury at Nantes, western France, chaired by the local university's history department's head, Professor Jean-Claude Rivière. Other universities had refused to consider the thesis, but Professor Rivière, who specialises in medieval Provence, is editor of an extreme rightwing magazine and an active member of extreme rightwing lobby groups.

Another member of the jury which met secretly in the summer recess last year was a leading member of the PFN — the New Forces Party — an extreme rightwing rival to the French National Front.

Mr Roques, an outspoken supporter of Nazi Germany, described the minister's decision as "intellectual terrorism" and said that he stood by his analysis, in which he claimed it was physically impossible for the Germans to murder millions of Jews in gas chambers. He based his 270-page thesis on an examination of the confessions of an SS officer, Kurt Gerstein, who helped to instal the first gas chambers in Poland.

Marcos loyalists surrender after putsch fails

By our Foreign Staff

A counter-revolution by supporters of the deposed Philippines president, Ferdinand Marcos, collapsed after about 200 rebel soldiers surrendered to the government. A senior military official, Colonel Emiliano Templo, said on Monday the soldiers gave up at dawn after government troops backed by tanks and armoured personnel carriers sealed the area around the hotel in central Manila where the 75-year-old former Foreign Minister, Arturo Tolentino, proclaimed a government in the name of Mr Marcos.

Mr Tolentino and six disaffected forces generals lacked the backing of armoured units, which were reported earlier to be advancing into central Manila, or of the public at large. No violence was reported in the capital or elsewhere.

The putsch attempt had appeared doomed after a claim by Mr Tolentino that he had been joined by Mrs Aquino's influential Defence Minister, Mr Juan Ponce Enrile, was quickly denied by Mr Enrile in a radio interview. "I thank them for the offer," Mr Enrile said, "but I am not looking for a new job."

President Aquino, speaking in Mindanao in the south of the country, said earlier that a delegation of senior officers had been sent to negotiate with the rebels but indicated that they did not represent a serious threat to her government. However, all those involved could face charges of sedition, she said. The army chief of staff, General Fidel Ramos, who was also out of town at the time of the attempted putsch, reacted calmly too, saying: "We have the situation under control . . . we have the support of all the services of the army."

A day of confusing and slightly bizarre events began with the announcement by Mr Tolentino, that he was taking over as acting President and was in the process of forming a new government.

Mr Tolentino, who ran as former President Marcos's vice-presidential candidate in the elections in February this year, had himself sworn in by a former Supreme Court judge, Serafin Cuevas, saying that he would carry on until Mr Marcos returned from Hawaii. He had acted, he said, on Mr Marcos's orders, and added that after he took the oath, he telephoned Mr Marcos, who congratulated him.

An hour earlier, five truckloads of troops with Marcos campaign ribbons tied to the barrels of their guns had joined the pro-Marcos demonstators in a park near the hotel.

Reading a letter he said was written by Mr Marcos, Mr Tolentino said: "I hereby order that in view of (my) unavoidable absence from the Philippines, I authorise Tolentino to be the legitimate head of the country until such times that I return . . ."

Among the six generals siding with Mr Tolentino were Brigadier-General Jose Zumel and Brigadier-General Prospero Olivas, a former paramilitary police chief, who was one of 25 people acquitted last December of the 1983 murder of Mrs Aquino's husband, Benigno.

Despite the rebels' claim that he had joined their cause, Mr Enrile was swift to disavow any collusion. The Philippines, he said: "Could not afford two governments. I would just like to ask the people to be calm and not to panic. Let us avoid violence." Mr Enrile's swift support for Mrs Aquino was said by observers to be crucial to the collapse of the putsch.

Mr Marcos's activities in Hawaii have become a source of increasing embarrassment to Washington. The State Department, in a prepared statement, said: "We understand that General Ramos and Defence Minister Enrile are working closely with President Aquino to bring matters under control. The US strongly supports the Government of President Aquino and is against efforts such as these to undermine it."

ANC will end violence only when South Africa agrees transfer of power

THE African National Congress is bracing itself for a sustained campaign by the British, American, and other Western governments to "draw its teeth" as a liberation movement.

As Sir Geoffrey Howe prepares to visit South Africa to try to pre-empt mounting pressures for sanctions against the white minority regime, interviews with senior ANC officials make it clear that the ANC is convinced that a two-pronged Western Strategy is now underway.

The first prong is to try to set up some sort of process of mediation or dialogue as a replacement for sanctions, with the argument that any tightening of sanctions is premature as long as talks are going on. The second is to press the ANC to call off its armed strugle or "suspend the violence," in order to create, it will be claimed, a better climate for government concessions.

In both cases ANC officials expect a heightening of the long-standing but hitherto spasmodic efforts by Western governments to split the ANC by describing it as Communist-dominated. The aim is expected to focus on describing the ANC as consisting of moderates and hard-liners, with the ANC executive's Communist Party members cast as the latter.

So far the campaign has had little success, partly, as one ANC official put it, because "nothing is being offered by the regime which could conceivably attract non-Communist nationalists. Not even the formality of democracy is being offered, let alone the substance."

The ANC has long had a close link with the South African Communist Party, which was founded ten years after it, in 1922. At the funeral in Mozambique in March of Moses Mabhida, the general secretary of the SACP, Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, praised the "deep-seated feeling of revolutionary unity and interdependence" between the ANC, the Communist Party, and the trade union movement.

Although the SACP had revolutionary aims long before the ANC espoused them, officials say that in recent debates on key questions such as negotiating strategies and attacks on civilian targets in South Africa the ANC's Communists take differing positions among themselves, and are by no means always more radical than the non-communists.

The ANC has never publicly acknowledged how many of its 30-member executive committee are Communists. But officials say the figure of 23 alleged by the South African Government is a gross exaggeration. To take just one example, the ANC's general secretary, Alfred Nzo, alleged by Pretoria to be a Communist, is not.

One of the open SACP members is the chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Joe Slovo. He was in the party before it was banned in 1950. Now the party's chairman, he says: "The South African Communist Party always has been and continues to be an influential part of the struggle. We can't be wished away. Our position has been won by contribution, not by manipulation."

Mr Slovo's wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a South African Government letter bomb. "In a sense," he goes on, "the SACP pioneered much of what the nationalist movement now stands for. We were the only non-racial political party in South Africa until last year when the ANC opened its top ranks to whites. We were the first with the concept of majority rule in the slogan of 'A Black Republic' as far back as 1929.

"I don't want to suggest that we're competing with the ANC, but that was at a time when the ANC was rather moderate, singing God Save the King at the end of public meetings."

The ANC's radicalisation and its close links with the SACP began in the mid-1940s with the then young Turks in the ANC Youth League, like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu.

Mr Slovo defends the policy of anonymity of SACP members. The party was already working underground for a decade before the ANC was also banned. "No communist party which is forced to work in clandestinity, has ever come out publicly, not in Portugal, Spain, or anywhere else. We would be the first to be targeted, if we all came out." Mr Slovo acknowledges that anonymity makes it easy for opponents to smear the ANC but says that this is one of the realities which has to be faced. The smears would not abate just because the SACP declared its members.

He describes the party's role as being "to act in an uninhibited way to assert the dominant role of the working class in the liberation alliance headed by the ANC." Both the party and the ANC accept this

By Jonathan Steele

dominant role of working people in the coalition of class forces which are fighting for national liberation, "but the ANC cannot and should not commit itself exclusively to workers' aspirations as a class, nor should it act as their political vanguard".

A recent internal party discussion document was obtained by South African Government agents, and publicised by Mr Botha. In it, the party warned against what it called "the 'liberal' bourgeoisie and their like-minded imperialist friends who triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue with the ANC."

"Let us be clear," the document went on. "The 'liberal' bourgeoisie seeks transformations of South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests. In addition, external pressures triggered off by an unending people's resistance are taking a terrible toll of their existing and potential economic interests."

The document stressed the need for economic as well as political democracy — "this implies more than an alternation in voting arrangements," and "majority rule in its true meaning". It said the "liberal" bourgoisie and its foreign friends would try to push the revolutionary forces into negotiations before these were strong enough to impose their basic goals. "We must not play into their hands by working out compromises for being seen to work out compromises) for some hypothetical negotiating table which constitute a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution."

The document takes particular issue with Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, who recently resigned as leader of the main white opposition party the Progressive Federal Party. He has held talks in Lusaka with the ANC. He later met President Botha, who released a transcript of the meeting, in which the former opposition leader said he had ideas for "drawing the teeth" of the ANC and wanted to discuss them with the head of South African Intelligence.

Other ANC officials have stressed in interviews that the movement is united in not being ready to contemplate a ceasefire until well into any process of negotiations. The precedents of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia were that agreement precedes a ceasefire, and not vice-versa.

"If we ask people to call off their resistance we're helping to create the illusion that the other side can be trusted," said one official. "It would damage the important momentum which has built up."

A gesture such as the temporary suspension of the campaign of sabotage is also ruled out. "The people are not our puppets. If we were to say 'Let's trust Botha. Let's make a gesture'. I think they would say 'We don't accept that'. There's been one example of bad faith after another." ANC officials cite as the most recent example the experience of the Eminent Persons' Group.

The ANC came under pressure from Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe, President Kaunda of Zambia, and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Sir Sridath Ramphal, to listen to the EPG's plan for a simultaneous suspension of the violence on their side along with the release of Nelson Mandela and the legalisation of the ANC on the other. Two days after the EPG came to the ANC for talks, South Africa attacked ANC offices in Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

The issue of targeting places for ANC bombs which might cause civilian casualties is particularly urgent. It is not just a moral argument, but also a question of effectiveness since ANC officials say a high priority now is to break the traditional white consensus behind minority rule.

They have already seen considerable movement by the white power structure but the Rhodesian precedent is constantly in their minds. "The West is trying to find a moderate alternative to Botha, preferably with a black face," said one ANC official. "Chief Buthelezi was at one time being groomed as a kind of South African Muzorewa. Now they're losing confidence in his drawing power but they have not been able to find a credible black leader. The issue of Communists in the ANC is bound to be built up. The trouble for the United States is that the South African issue stands above ideological politics in the world. They can't deal with it like with Nicaragua."

As with Rhodesia, they say that negotiations can only take place on the understanding that the principle of a transfer of power to the majority has already been agreed. This was the basis for the talks which Mrs Thatcher sponsored at Lancaster House. Once that has been accepted by the South African government, temporary arrangements safeguarding some aspects of white privilege, such as a few guaranteed seats in Parliament, are not excluded when ANC officials speculate on possible concessions.

Short of a government acceptance of the principle of a transfer of power in a united, democratic South Africa, the ANC believes negotiations are premature. Commenting on Sir Geoffrey Howe's hope of setting up a dialogue on his forthcoming trip, one ANC man said "We have had too many toy telephones in South African history already. I don't think anyone will take part."

Rekindled Liberty's fitful light

By Alex Brummer in New York

WHEN the Olesiak family sailed majestically past Miss Liberty on the Fourth of July, her copper green coat gleaming in the bright sunlight, the only "huddled masses" in sight were the cheering, waving boaters aboard the thousands of yachts.

It wasn't quite like this from 1880 to 1924, when the golden door swung open and 17 million immigrants — Italians, Slavs, Greeks and Russian Jews — swarmed into New York in teeming, rat-infested vessels. Ryszard Olesiak, a Solidarity refugee from General Jaruzelski's Poland, his wife, Magdalena, and their two enchanted children arrived in style.

The QE2, with a giant 100-foot Stars and Stripes spread across its starboard side, boomed its grating bass horn. The air resonated with the sounds of the Star-Spangled Banner, the Marseillaise, and, perhaps for the only time during the Liberty 100th birthday party, God Save the Queen. The 700 Chrysler car salesmen, their wives and girlfriends, whose mentor, Lee Iacocca, paid $7 million to hire the Queen, looked on emotionally as the Olesiaks did their stuff and wept.

A shower of plump pink carnations rained down on the blueish-grey water, and thousands of red, white and blue balloons soared above the Queen sailing past the ungainly form of the McDonald's blimp, casting a garish flying hamburger shadow over the whole scene. "We are very happy to be here," Mr Olesiak pronounced in broken English as a passing fire ship gushed patriotic dyed water jets into the harbour.

Streaming towards the Queen and the anchored US carrier, the John F. Kennedy, from Long Island Sound came an armada of yachts, boats, junks, schooners in full colours and tall ships dressed to kill, rehearsing for the Independence Day Sail-past by 40 vessels from around the world — in perhaps the greatest maritime procession since Helen of Troy launched a thousand ships.

Hundreds swarmed around the birthday girl, looking from the high decks of the Queen like soapy clothing rumbling around the green core of a washing machine. As fast as they dropped anchor in search of a ringside seat, US Coastguard cutters would steam up and move them on with the tact of a New York cop.

At stake for the boaters, who sailed west from the Old World, south from New England, and north from the Chesapeake and even Panama, was a view of the first public demonstration of Star Wars technology. President Reagan, with a flair for the dramatic, flipped the switch from his champagne-bathed podium on Governor's Island, sending forth a laser beam with which to light the lifted lamp and bathe Miss Liberty in glorious floodlight, starting bell-ringing, fireworks, and partying across a joyous nation.

For the Olesiaks it was an auspicious welcome to the New World. Standing before a plaster model of Miss Liberty in the Queen's Room, where night club performers do their stuff in white plastic Holiday Inn decor, they must have wondered what they had let themselves in for.

America's newest residents had come to the New World via a refugee camp in Athens, where their request to enter the United States was favourably received by the dreaded Immigration and Naturalisation Service. From there, their sponsors from the Church World Service took them to Southampton, where they boarded along with the sharp-shooting Chrysler salesmen.

From New York, according to Methodist Bishop Roy Clark, the Olesiaks will be taken to York, Pennsylvania — where Methodist churches have promised to settle them in their new land of freedom. After the culinary and other delights of a QE2 crossing, and a blimp and helicopter salute from overhead, it is certain to be a letdown.

Mr Reagan declared that the restored statue would be "a beacon of hope for mankind". To the Olesiaks and the 300 new immigrants sworn in here that night it meant that, and more.

But not all Americans were able to sail past the Lady and intone Emma Lazarus's words:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless tempest-tost to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door . . ."

The outsiders at the party are the millions of black Americans who passed by the golden door in chains, went through the perils of slavery and share-cropping and now form the underclass in the nation's cities, the native-Navajo Indians, who are being moved from their reservations, once again, the hundreds of "boat people" from Haiti who are herded into camps in Florida, the thousands of Mexicans who are rounded up each week along the Rio Grande, put into cells, and then made to walk back to wretched lives.

As Dr Milton Morris notes in his 1985 Brookings study Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy, Miss Liberty has not always been what it is cracked up to be. "Nonwhites were virtually excluded for most of the country's history, and currently Salvadorans fleeing from turmoil in their homeland are being denied refuge."

For many black Americans the spirit of Liberty means nothing. "It's a celebration for immigrants and that has nothing to do with me," argues John Hope Franklin, a historian of slavery and visiting professor at Duke University.

To mark their distaste for the Liberty proceedings more than 600 Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and American Indians gathered in New York last weekend under the banner of the Campaign for Economic and Social Justice to offer a different view of the celebration. "We saw the type of commercialism that was going on, as well as the lack of representation of people of colour — we felt it was important for us to make a social statement," says Brooklyn's member of the New York State Assembly, Roger Green. "The celebration reflects a historical revisionism. There has not been in any real sense a focus on the fact that our struggle for liberty is ongoing."

A telling poll by US News and World Report found that the spirit of Liberty fails to light the nation's way in the manner in which the media hype would have us believe. When asked if US immigration quotas should be raised, to allow more newcomers to enter, 51 per cent asked for a reduction, 35 per cent wanted the thing left alone and just 8 per cent were in favour of an increase. This despite the belief by half the respondents that the ethnic mix of the United States was "a major reason for the nation's greatness".

Molotov back in favour

By Martin Walker in Moscow

THE former Soviet prime minister whose name inspired the Molotov cocktail has formally lost "non-person" status to which he has been condemned for 25 years.

Vyacheslav Molotov, now aged 96, was interviewed in the Russian-language edition of Moscow News, and a summary article was published by Tass. There were unconfirmed reports 18 months ago that Molotov had been readmitted into the Communist Party, but this is the first public rehabilitation of one of the last old Bolseheviks who helped overthrow the Tsar in 1917.

At the 1961 party congress, he was accused of helping draw up the death lists for Stalin's purges, expelled from the party's Central Committee and finally expelled from the party in 1964.

In the interview, Molotov said he now receives "a large pension" and lives in considerable comfort at a dacha in Zhukovna, the prestigious country retreat near Moscow.

The main point of this public endorsement of the old man was apparently to publicise his support for the new style of Mikhail Gorbachev's Government.

"I keep abreast of all current events," he said "I am inspired by the changes now taking place in our life."

But such an article carries another, more discreet implication for the Soviet audience. It reemphasises Mr Gorbachev's point that there is such a thing as honourable retirement for old servants of the party, and that a loss of office need not mean loss of privilege, far less loss of life.

Swearing by the slain never to forget

By John Ezard in Thiepval, Northern France

AN officious, wavy haired gentleman from the BBC yelled at a couple strolling along the lip of the crater "You — move out of the way. We are filming."

TV gentlemen do that the world over, unscathed. But an old Scotsman in full kilt roared at this one: "Say please when you talk to people — and get your hair cut."

We were with the army now — the stoop-shouldered remnants of Kitchener's Army — in the most intimate of the events forming the last big commemoration of the dead of the Somme battlefield in the lifetimes of its survivors.

Seconds later, a maroon went up in the summer sky, as it did at the same time 70 years ago, at 7.30am on July 1, 1916.

In 1916, that was a signal for the detonation of four 60,000lb landmines, one of which blasted the 90ft crater on which the 400 of us stood at La Boiselle.

The explosion in turn was a signal for the offensive which brought 60,000 British casualties in its first hour and 1.2 million dead on both sides in four months.

The landmines did little good. Although the explosives for it were taken down the secret 250 yard tunnel, this was the few dozen yards too far away to collapse the front line German trenches. But that was the story of the Somme.

Recently the great hole, in which brambles now grow, was bought by an Englishman, Richard Dunning, of Guildford, who did not want houses built on ground in which so many bits of human beings still lie.

Last week a plain cross made from Tyneside wood was unveiled in homage to the regiment which perished around the village. A brief service began with a reading from the diary of Tom Easton, a 19-year-old. "The great mine exploded at 7.30am . . . men fell on every side screaming from the severity of their wounds. Had they lived, would they ever have forgiven?"

A 12-year-old boy, David Southworth, stared down at us and most sternly spoke two lines from the anti-war poet Siegfried Sassoon: "Look down and swear by the green of the spring that you will never forget. Look down and swear by the slain of the war that you will never forget."

After this, the open air congregation threw poppy petals into the crater and placed little wooden remembrance crosses all along its perimeter.

David's declamation was the closest anybody came to trying deliberately to make us feel chastened. The big event, led by the Duke of Kent, 3½ hours later beneath the great arch in the British Commonwealth cemetery at Thiepval was, if anything, upbeat in tone.

Reading from the Funeral Oration of Pericles, the Duke said: "In the hour of trial, the one thing they feared was dishonour . . . for the whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes Monuments may rise, tablets be set up to them in their own lands, but there is an abiding memorial that no pen or chisel has traced. It is not on stone or brass, but on the living hearts of humanity."

The 70 British and French veterans seated in places of honour in front of the Duke, Mr George Younger, the Defence Secretary, and French VIPs had feared many more things than dishonour: death, mutilation, rats, separation from their loved ones and — as happened to them — the slaughter of much of their generation. But they looked on impassively and politely.

The service paper said: "Tout le monde chante Oh God Our Help In Ages Past": and for a few moments it was possible to believe that much of Europe was here in spirit at least, reflecting on one of the twentieth century's great Golgothas.

Luytens's 141ft high triple arch, inscribed with the names of 73,000 soldiers with no known grave, is flanked by sycamore, poplars, copper beeches, and silver birches. But it still stands out starkly among the undulating folds of Somme farmland, waist high with young corn.

A layman might say that the countryside was like Norfolk, rather flat. But to the veterans it teems with bridges, salients and redoubts and stumps of trees.

"The Somme doesn't look like anything terrestrial any more," the French writer, Pierre Loti recorded at the time . . . "a squashed brown mush into which everything sinks."

"It is almost beyond comprehension," the Army's Chaplain General, Archdeacon Frank Johnston, said in his sermon at Thiepval "The enormity of the losses, the horrendous suffering, the confusion, the awesome effect on those of us who stand here. What a person remembers makes him the kind of person he is."

The Last Post, from the sound chamber of the arch, was played as perfectly as most of us will hear it in our lifetimes. But this congregation contained experts.

"It was a bit too slow at the beginning," one veteran said afterwards. A piper followed with "The Flowers of the Forest Are All Gang Awa," a lament written for the loss of the Flower of Scots chivalry in the Battle of Flodden Field, in 1415. But it proved just as evocative of the Flower of 1916.

It sent tears coursing down the faces of three old soldiers sitting in front of the Duke, then two 90-year-old British survivors took two minutes to toil and sweat up the memorial's 25 steep steps alongside their French counterparts to lay a wreath "To Our Comrades."

But the war fractured our lives too. For the first time last week Mrs Betty Bower, aged 75, of Newcastle, laid a wreath at the foot of the arch bearing the name of her brother Ted, killed at the Somme at the age of 18. She had only just found his name. "It has been the dream of my life to do this," she said.

A few feet away another Newcastle woman, Mrs Annie Patterson, aged 73, discovered the name of her father, Will Coulson, killed 70 years ago last week at the age of 32, when she was three years old. "I have found you," she said to the name on the memorial bearing the names of 73,000 others. "I have found you at last."

She has the dimmest memory of her father going off to war. "I remember I fell down the front doorstep and he ran and picked me up," she said. "You can tell from photographs that he loved holding me on his knee. To think of all the love and comfort I have missed all these years."

COMMENT

Water under the bridge

IF privatisation's epitaph — like that of Keats — becomes "writ in water," then the Government will have no one to blame but itself. The shelving of plans to sell off the monopoly supply of water to the private sector ends, at least for the moment, the most ill-conceived privatisation of them all. Ill-conceived, because short of putting a Peacock meter in the air we breathe (but let's not put ideas into anyone's head) the Government was proposing to denationalise the most "natural" of all the monopolies for which there is no substitute. You can't take your business elsewhere because there is no elsewhere, only one tap coming into your house. Nor does water have any of the other benefits claimed by privatisation. The pressure towards increased efficiency posed by threat of bankruptcy hardly applies. Stand up the Minister who would allow a water authority to go bankrupt?

Of the 11 advantages of privatisation listed in the February white paper there is barely one which could not be achieved without hiving off. Raising money in the City (instead of from the Treasury), profit-sharing, reducing ministerial intervention, the creation of a watchdog body, diversifying into tourism, paying higher salaries and so on; all of these things can and, probably should, be done anyway. The problem arises because the Government constantly, and falsely, equates privatisation with deregulation. If Thames Water wants to launch new initiatives, from providing plumbing services to opening marinas, then let it do so. Indeed, the interim period before water is duly privatised (if the Conservatives are returned to office) offers an excellent opportunity to see just how a nationalised water authority could cope with limited deregulation by using its assets as it wants.

What this is all about is not water on tap, but cash on tap. And that, in the end, was why it failed, because no one looked beyond the bottom line. The Government saw the water industry as a quick way to raise anything from £4 to £8 billion in cash which could be recycled into a reduction in the standard rate; an unpopular privatisation to pay for tax cuts which, so opinion polls tell us, hardly anyone seems to want.

And then came the problems. Financially, the City did not see the industry, with the possible exception of Thames, as a growth market. The prospect of charging by usage (through meters) would almost certainly lead to a decline in consumption, which would mean that profits would have to come from manipulating whatever price restraint formula was adopted. There were reports of having to write off much of the industry's debts to make it more attractive and of the extreme difficulty of privatising all the authorities at once. This coincided with growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between maximising profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring the effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife. And with another lobby, including the industry's main union, preparing to fight a legal battle about whether the water authorities were really owned by local councils rather than Government, the Cabinet finally gave way at the knees: it postponed a bill which was controversial even within its own party and which could have produced a messy dogfight during a period when pre-electoral tranquillity was required by the party managers.

This won't earn many Brownie points for Mr Ridley, the high priest of privatisation, who has already had to postpone the flotation of British Airways. The money for the tax cuts will, doubtless, be found from elsewhere, from British Airports and British Gas and from selling the remains of Sir Winston Churchill's investment in BP. And, final irony, if the Chancellor is still short of the cash needed to cut taxes, he will now be able to do what he did last year and force water charges up by more than the authorities themselves thought necessary. Taxes may yet be writ in water.

A bad night at the opera

WHAT'S wrong with booing at the opera, for goodness sake? They sometimes boo for half an hour at Bayreuth. In Italy, loud denunciation is the norm. So the "full two minutes" of audience disapprobation that greeted the curtain of Covent Garden's new production of Fidelio hardly ranks as a totally new phenomenon in the operatic world, even if it is still newsworthy for the reserve of a stolid British audience to break down in such a way.

Booing is a tricky subject at a time when very wise people are warning that Britain is becoming a yob society. To some, booing at the opera feels uneasily like the upmarket equivalent of football hooliganism. There's a tendency around that says well-brought up people, enjoying seats costing 30-odd quid a time, should set an example. And, of course, there was more than a bit of Hooray Henrydom at work last week, just as there was when the Jockey Club members wrecked the Paris premiere of Tannhäuser in 1861. Sir Colin Davis, the Royal Opera's music director for 15 years, has always had a claque of opponents and there is no doubt that they took their opportunity to give him a noisy send-off in this, his final production. The bulk of the booing, though, was clearly from people who didn't like what they heard and (more particularly) saw. That doesn't make their booing a nice event. But at least it showed that they cared. At least it showed that there are people in this country who aren't so intimidated by the arts elite that they can't give voice to their own opinions. Why should people applaud all the time? We need more booing in Britain, not less.

Which is not to say that the booers were right about Fidelio. Covent Garden audiences are of a cultural conservatism exceeded only on the other side of the Atlantic. If they had their way, it would be one Aida after another. There would be no place for risk-taking. No Berg or Britten, even, let along any Maxwell Davies or Stockhausen. No forward-looking productions from Götz Friedrich or the current villain, Andrei Serban. Even as things are, the conservatives have been able to use the public sector opera cash crisis to lever Covent Garden's artistic policy — such as it is — their way. Most of the exciting operatic ideas in Britain these days are therefore to be found at the Coliseum or in Wales rather than in Bow Street. It is very much to Sir Colin Davis's credit, however, that in his period in charge at Covent Garden he has consistently tried to push the artistic boundaries outwards rather than inwards. That involves taking risks and making mistakes. Even if the new Fidelio is a failure, it is better to have a policy which produces failures which are over-ambitious in their desire to say something different rather than failures which have no ambition at all beyond providing aural wallpaper for the rich. *(Review, page 20).*

Weinberger's big bang theory

MR WEINBERGER'S interceptor missile, launched over New Mexico, has been claimed by the Pentagon as some kind of proof that its Star Wars show is on the road. It is certainly evidence of something, but not necessarily of that. No one seriously doubts that if all the available American technology is pressed into service a target travelling at Mach 3 and 12,000 feet can be shot out of the air. This represents a not very large qualitative advance on events which have happened on various occasions over the Golan Heights or the Beka'a Valley. It says next to nothing about the capacity to intercept the simultaneous launch of the entire Soviet cannonade at speeds and altitudes vastly greater, and the only surprise is that the Pentagon should take the trouble to announce it. Unless, that is, the announcement was the most important part.

Moscow has gradually relaxed its conditions for reaching a three-tiered arms agreement, and its latest position on the Strategic Defence Initiative is that tests should be confined to the laboratory and the two sides should prolong the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty for another 15 or 20 years. The New Mexico test looks like a two-fingered answer — not from the US Administration as such, in so far as such a corporate entity exists, but from one branch of it — to Mr Gorbachev and the well-known pinkoes who populate Western Europe and are inclined to take him seriously in this matter. For the test does both things at once: it takes the experiments out of the laboratory, and technically at least it nudges at the fringes of the ABM Treaty.

Both Moscow and Washington are acting on the assumption that a summit will be held, though not before the mid-term elections. There is, however, a notable lack of simultaneity about the proclamations of their enthusiasm. When Washington presses, Moscow asks for time, and vice versa. The decisive question is how little Mr Gorbachev is prepared to settle for. He is not, he says, going for a mere handshake. On the other hand he can't expect a full-blown treaty on intermediate missiles in Europe. That is not, in any case, in America's hands to deliver. Britain and France would both be involved in any agreement to abolish or reduce the intermediate forces. That is because the Russians still insist that the forces of the two countries, though they can stay, must not be significantly increased. Between the handshake and the treaty there is probably a point of principle to be established about weapons in Europe which would be acceptable to both the US and the USSR. Therefore the prospect of a summit need not be written off. That is not to say that Mr Weinberger will not honour Mr Gorbachev's arrival with a 21-kiloton salute in Nevada.

(Summit prospects, page 7)

When police carry guns

THERE will be very few people who are completely satisfied with the outcome of the trial of PC Brian Chester for the killing of five-year-old John Shorthouse. This is not to say that the Stafford Crown Court jury which acquitted PC Chester reached a perverse verdict. Anyone who makes that claim is simply looking for any excuse to attack the police. The jury were faced with a horrendously difficult choice between inflicting judicial punishment on a police officer for what was beyond any doubt an accidental killing and acquitting him, an action which would leave the death unpunished in any way. It was always hard to believe that the jury would not choose the latter course if the evidence allowed them to do so. It did — and they have duly done so. That doesn't make it a clean cut or a pleasant verdict. Yet, in the end, it is difficult to believe that a conviction would have been any more just.

That still leaves big questions unanswered. First and foremost, there is the question of the Shorthouse family to consider. They have lost their son. He was killed by a police officer. It is impossible to disagree with the bereaved mother who said that she still holds the police "totally responsible" for her son's death. It is extremely important, not just for the individuals involved, but also for the police force, that the police accept corporate responsibility, even if not criminal guilt, for the killing. There must be some form of compensation to the family from the police. It seems unlikely that the Shorthouses qualify under the (in any case not very generous) criminal injuries compensation scheme. But the last thing that anyone should want to see now is for the Shorthouses to be subjected to the indignity and humiliations of a long-drawn-out civil action for damages and compensation. What is needed, surely, is a quick police commitment to a substantial ex gratia payment. The local chief constable should act now.

The Shorthouse case is a landmark in the development of police arms policy. Like Waldorf before it, the shooting occurred because Britain's police have trained too many police too perfunctorily in the handling of arms and because the officers in overall command of such cases have not exercised the appropriate degree of supervision. It is clear that it is the guns and the men in the front line who have been making the policy, rather than the supervisors. The court decision, however inadvertently, may well have added to the belief that the operational officers can make their own rules and get away with them. It is important to nip that response firmly in the bud now. Already, since Shorthouse, some forces have begun to restrict the numbers of officers getting gun training, in the hope of making it a more specialist skill. That is not enough. There has got to be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried, and used by the police. Unless that happens, we will all feel sorry for the Shorthouses but nothing will have been done to prevent exactly the same accident happening again.

Opec and Britain's simplistic oil policy

OPEC'S manifest failure to implement effective quotas has prolonged, for the foreseeable future, the unexpected luxury (as long as you are not an indebted oil producer like Mexico) of low oil prices. There is a danger, though, that it will lull us into a false sense of security about future energy supplies. Britain's approach has been almost disarmingly simplistic. It doesn't believe in energy monopolies abroad: only at home. It has steadfastly refused to join Opec because that would diminish competition, yet it will happily leave British Gas an undiluted monopoly after privatisation. It believes that prices should best be left to the market mechanism (another reason for not joining Opec) yet at home it unashamedly forces electricity, gas and water prices up by more than the utilities say that the market demands.

This Jekyll and Hyde stuff is an energy policy of sorts, but it ducks long-term problems that will not go away. By ignoring Opec pleas for restraint in favour of maximising production, the Government has ensured that our limited oil reserves will be exhausted sooner rather than later. This opens the prospect that the UK will be running out of oil some time in the 1990s when Opec (quite likely led by much more militant people than today) will be exploiting a re-acquired stranglehold on world supplies.

Britain's role is pivotal. As the sixth largest producer (at 2.7 million barrels a day) we are big enough to affect any agreements to restrain output, the success or failure of which is highly dependent on marginal supplies. Had Britain decided to reduce output by, say, 600,000 barrels a day (which would have probably triggered a proportional response from Norway and maybe from other reluctant Opec members) then surplus output would have been mopped up and prices would have risen; quite possibly by enough to leave Mr Lawson's tax revenue unchanged.

By helping to bring about a very cheap oil policy the Government has worsened the outlook for the coal industry because competition from cheap oil brings down the price of coal, thereby closing more pits, which in turn means a heavier burden on the taxpayer for unemployment pay and social security. By pursuing a policy which will accelerate the depletion of indigenous oil supplies by the 1990s the Government has made Mr Peter Walker's claim — that Britain needs to rely more heavily on nuclear power stations in future — look like a self-fulfilling prophecy.

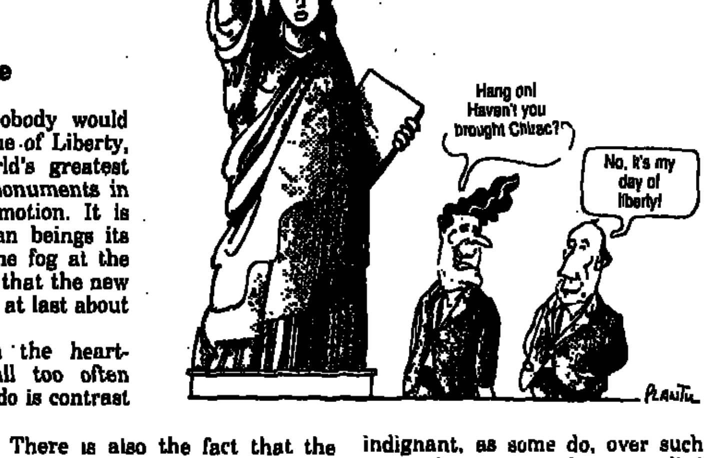
Britain's position, as one of the very few industrialised nations self-sufficient in energy, means that a cheap energy policy is not, unlike other countries, necessarily in our best interests. Nor, in terms of oil, is it necessary in the interests of the wider world. Sure, if it meant cheap oil in perpetuity. But if temporary profligacy is punished by even greater long-term dependence on an increasingly unstable Middle East, the need for a far-seeing energy policy is merely underlined.

Opec's share of the world market (excluding the Eastern bloc) is likely to rise this year to almost 40 per cent (compared with under 38 per cent last year and 66 per cent at its peak) thanks to its policy of trying to recoup lost market share. The price of Brent crude slipped further last week to $11 a barrel. This followed the inconclusive meeting of members of Opec in Yugoslavia who, although no longer formed into an effective cartel, still have it in their power (since several are producing considerably below capacity) to reduce prices even further to gain a bigger share of the market. It is commonly supposed that, at around $10, even President Reagan would take action not only to protect small American producers, but also the country's strategic capability. Always remember though that there is much more to energy policy than cheap prices.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

A 'certain idea' of liberty

By André Fontaine



President Mitterrand was the only foreign Head of State invited to attend last week's centennial celebrations of the Statue of Liberty in New York.

BARTHOLDI is no Michelangelo. Nobody would dream of including the good old Statue of Liberty, now 100 years old, among the world's greatest masterpieces of sculpture. Yet few monuments in the world are charged with such emotion. It is because for tens of millions of human beings its silhouette finally glimpsed through the fog at the end of an exhausting voyage signified that the new life for which they had so yearned was at last about to commence.

Their descendants have forgotten the heartbreaks and disillusionments that all too often followed afterwards. All they have to do is contrast their own well-being with the harrowing poverty of these "tired . . . poor . . . huddled masses yearning to breathe free", to whom Emma Lazarus's poem, inscribed on the statue's pedestal, promised happiness on earth.

But the copper Statue of Liberty that the French people offered the Americans was supposed to "enlighten the world", not just the New World. As if our forebears had anticipated, at a time when isolationism — non-entanglement — carried the weight of dogma for all of Uncle Sam's children, that a day would come when the United States would play a determining part in the continual struggle between totalitarianism and liberty.

From Napoleon to de Tocqueville, Thiers and Marx, the greatest minds of the 19th century had glimpsed the role that America would play in the 20th century. They had appraised the immense power that its people would derive from the fact of having a homeland, not inherited as is the case for most of the rest of the world's poopulation, but chosen, and chosen for its ideas. Better still, chosen for the dream it embodied.

The "American dream". We have all been talking about it in the verbal tide set off by the anniversary? But have we noticed that the phrase is used only in connection with America? It has never occurred to anybody to celebrate a German, French, British, Russian, Japanese dream or whatever, quite simply because in all these cases it would be hard to find any identification between the nation and an ideology.

The United States, on the other hand, came into being when its founding fathers subscribed to a common credo whose basis is precisely liberty and which was confirmed by generations of immigrants.

This idyllic picture has its dark side. The "equality of conditions" which so carried away de Tocqueville to the point that he saw it as the "focal point where all his observations came to end" is today but a distant memory.

Poverty, violence and illiteracy are not myths. The celebration of liberty does not mean what it says for everybody, especially not for the people who lived in the country before the whites arrived there. Nor for the blacks, who could not possibly forget the fact that their ancestors were for the most part taken there by force as slaves, even if nobody today is surprised to see some of them managing the destinies of big cities like Washington DC, Chicago and Los Angeles.

There is also the fact that the more people subscribe to the dogma underpinning the State, the greater the risk of seeing the State in question succumbing to the temptations of pride. Reagan-Rambo is not quite free of this danger. In February 1982, he said: "I've always believed this continent was an exceptional place whose destiny was exceptional. I believe our destiny is to be the beacon of hope to all of mankind."

Fine. Better have a Head of State who sees himself as a "beacon of hope" than a self-acknowledged candidate for domination. But when you believe you have been invested by Providence with a planetary mission and when you possess unparalleled economic, military, cultural and media muscle for carrying it out, you naturally tend not to be too particular about the moral commitment and attachment to democracy of your docile allies, and on the contrary to consider as insignificant, not to say intolerable, the reservations and objections of those who are less tractable. The lack of understanding shown to France's refusal in April to allow American bombers bound for Tripoli and Benghazi to overfly its territory is just one more example of an already long list of what Henry Kissinger in a benign moment described one day as "transatlantic misapprehensions".

It is not very effective to wax indignant, as some do, over such pretensions — at least implied pretensions — to world domination, or at any rate world leadership, and take advantage of it to denounce the innate hypocrisy and rapaciousness of the White House and, behind it, Wall Street. It is not even fair when you have not really grasped the root cause of these "misapprehensions" which is, properly speaking philosophical. There wouldn't have been a United States had it not become the meeting ground of men and women who put their loyalty to common values before all these distinctions so dear to the peoples of Europe.

When you are so deeply convinced of them, it goes without saying that those who refuse to share them are easily seen as laggards and killjoys. Even today many Americans find it hard to understand why their cousins in the Old World prefer to live with their habits, their languages, their squabbles — in short, their history — instead of dropping them all for a marriage across the Atlantic.

It is because France's attachment to a "certain idea" of liberty is no less strong than that of the US that our two countries are constantly competing and cooperating with each other. Which means that despite all the bickering common to a long married couple, the union is not about to fall apart.

(July 3)

Pinochet in no mood to quit

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET'S government went to great lengths in an attempt to counter the 48-hour nationwide general strike called on July 2 and 3 by the Civic Assembly, a body formed in April and comprising most of Chile's social and labour union organisations.

Civic Assembly, which proposes to transcend the differences dividing the leaders of the main Opposition political groups, advocates non-violence and passive resistance. With the threat of court action hanging over their heads, its organisers feel they have made a preliminary breakthrough and brought home the fact that what the vast majority of Chileans, whether of the left or the right, want is a peaceful and democratic transition. This was already known. They hope to be able to organise, before the year is out, an open-ended general strike to force Pinochet to negotiate or resign.

Wide publicity was given to the watchwords of the July 2 and 3 strike. Radio stations with ties to the Christian Democratic movement recommended to their listeners to spend the two days with their families and repeated the Civic Assembly slogan: "All together at the same time." The "nationwide general strike" was made out to be the most significant protest action against the regime since the 1973 coup d'etat.

The two days of passive resistance, but also street violence, took a heavy toll — seven killed, dozens injured and several hundred arrested. The harshness of the repression enabled the government to prevent the demonstrations from spreading.

At first sight, the strike movement would appear to have been less widespread than the *protestas* organised in 1983 and 1984. Anyway, there is no question of Pinochet taking notice of this latest warning. He intends to stay in office until the end of his mandate in 1989, and is even thinking of running for another term, a prospect viewed with some reservations by some sections of the armed forces and also by two members of his own military junta, General Matthei and General Stange. The two generals have, however, assured him of their "loyal support" during the next two years.

General Pinochet has other trump cards. The leaders of the two main Opposition political groupings — one with a Christian Democrat core and the other hinged on the Communist Party — have not succeeded in hammering out a joint platform. The Christian Democrats are loath link themselves to a Communist Party which does not condemn extreme left violence and sabotage. The Catholic Church deplores the violence, but no longer seems to be in the forefront as it was a year ago, and is busy preparing for the pope's visit next year. The United States, which is equally critical of the harsh repression, favours a democratic transition, but appears to concede that General Pinochet could complete his term of office.

(July 5)

COMMENT



Pinochet: trump cards

Mulroney puts faith in his Quebecers

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced on Monday last week the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking office in September 1984. There are no less than eight new ministers in the present cabinet and 17 members of the outgoing cabinet have been given different posts.

CANADA'S Progressive Conservative Party Prime Minister chose the eve of Dominion Day to make the most extensive reshuffle of his government since taking power slightly less than two years ago. That coincidence is certainly not fortuitous. With his popularity sinking disquietingly over the last few months, Prime Minister Mulroney needed to make a resounding gesture to regain even a momentary psychological advantage in public opinion.

Increasingly criticised for indecision and for his lack of firmness, the Canadian leader, who had been put off the decision since the beginning of the year, has gone about it squarely. Eight new faces have been brought in while six former ministers have been dropped, among them being First Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Erik Nielson, a historic figure in Canadian conservatism.

Nielsen is undoubtedly paying the price of highly controversial activities which attracted parliamentary disapproval. He had in fact to admit that some 20 years ago he had bugged the House of Commons in Ottawa to spy on his Liberal opponents. Coming on top of previous scandals which in a very short time led to the resignation of four ministers, the incident helped to destabilise a government which had been triumphantly elected in September 1984. No party in Canada has ever had so substantial a parliamentary majority.

Mulroney by no means deserves his dwindling prestige. In the economic sphere particularly, his government can point to positive achievements: growth last year, though falling short of projections, did reach 4·4 per cent which, in times like these is quite an excellent performance. For many months now, unemployment has become stabilised at under 10 per cent for the first time since the 1982 recession. Mulroney does not fail to point out that over 350,000 new jobs have been created over the last two years.

Contrary to expectations, however, he has not succeeded in reestablishing the confidence in Canada held by the world economic community, mainly the United States. Investment, which had shied away from Canada under Pierre Elliott Trudeau's "nationalistic" direction, has not returned. As a matter of fact, sparked by misgivings about the effect of falling oil prices on the Canadian economy, a major disinvestment rush took place last year.

While making no secret of his admiration for President Reagan, Mulroney refuses to follow the Reaganite policy of slashing social expenditure. And this is doubly inconvenient in that it prevents him from narrowing the substantial budget deficit and irritates hardline capitalists who are otherwise normally well disposed towards him.

In the difficult times that Mulroney, an English-speaking Quebecer, is going through, he seems to be banking heavily on the few politicians from his native province who have always stood by him. At any rate, it is to Quebecers that he has decided to entrust such key ministries as Employment, Energy, Industry and Immigration. Four of the eight new ministers come from the Province of Quebec. Which is one way for Mulroney to show the Quebecers, who rallied to him two years ago but subsequently turned away from him to back the Liberals, that he has not forgotten them.

(July 2)

Jaruzelski gets the Gorbachev seal of approval

By Jan Krauze

WARSAW — The tone was set at the very outset on Sunday, June 29 by General Wojciech Jaruzelski when he began reading the report of the party's central committee. "Five years ago," he said, "an extraordinary congress was held in this hall. Today it is an ordinary congress that opens." The First Secretary's satisfaction matched what appears to have always been been his great ambition — to turn his country into a normal and well-ordered socialist country where everything, including party congresses, had its proper place. In short, an "ordinary" country.

On this point though Sunday was not a complete success. At the very moment Jaruzelski was addressing the gathering from the podium, thousands of demonstrators in Poznan succeeded in forming a procession to shouts of "Liberty, Rights, Solidarity" before they were dispersed by baton-wielding police. It must be said the authorities took a risk by opening the 10th congress of the party in the presence of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, on the same day as the 30th anniversary of the Poznan workers' revolt. Did they think that the police, with their long experience and highly developed tactics, would put down the slightest attempt to hold a demonstration, as is now practically always the case on every sensitive date?



Mr Gorbachev meeting workers at a machine plant in Warsaw last week with General Jaruzelski (left).

The presence of the Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, in Poznan would appear to have somewhat complicated the job of the law-enforcement authorities and facilitated that of the demonstrators (the primate's arrival was in theory unconnected with the anniversary, even if Cardinal Glemp did refer in his homily to the 75 victims of the repression and the authorities' cynicism at the time).

As soon as the ceremony ended, a crowd of 5,000 surged purposefully towards the monument erected five years ago in memory of the 1956 dead. Naturally, the police finally managed to stop the crowd's movement, disperse it and arrest a number of people. But the demonstration had in fact lasted half an hour, which is a long time in Poland today.

Sunday evening there were still around 10,000 people in Warsaw to attend the traditional "mass for the country" which took place amid imposing police precautions. And this at precisely the same moment that the World Cup soccer final was being televised from Mexico.

These were perhaps only pinpricks on the by now thickened hide of the government, but at least they are a reminder that the past, the "extraordinary," is always just around the corner.

On the other hand, everything went off according to schedule, right down to the tiniest detail, in the great hall of the Palace of Culture. Soon after the Polish leaders and distinguished guests had arrived and Gorbachev was getting ready to sit down, there was a resounding fanfare of trumpets. The "central committee's flag" burst into the hall and was saluted with trumpet blasts from soldiers in ceremonial uniform. Coming from General Jaruzelski himself, who was in civvies for the occasion, it was a reminder that the army had rendered the Party a great service in December 1981.

Gorbachev, who sat on Jaruzelski's right and was introduced by him as a "great friend" of Poland, received a standing ovation.

The central committee report, which took Jaruzelski almost four hours to read out, did not reveal anything special. What the members of the State apparatus and the *nomenklatura* will basically note in it is the announcement of a large-scale operation to reappraise the cadres. The idea is to try to ensure that responsible posts are filled by people with the required qualifications, which in practice is extremely difficult.

According to the socialist system's rules, it is in fact the Party which "recommends," hence appoints, candidates to all senior posts. General Jaruzelski is certainly not thinking of doing away with the practice, but he would like candidates' merits to be carefully judged and changes in assigning posts accordingly decided at every level, from ministries down to plant level. This is quite an ambitious programme, which, as Jaruzelski himself pointed out, will require much "firmness and tact."

The First Secretary also stressed the need to continue with economic reforms, while acknowledging that they had run into major difficulties. One of the prime goals — productivity — has made little progress. But he urged that efforts continue to be made and picked out the priority tasks for the coming years — food, housing, education, health, environment and better income distribution.

In the political sphere, the general repeated his usual analysis of the '80s crisis by explaining that the vast majority of Solidarity's former members were honest advocates of socialism who had been taken in by "counter-revolutionary fanatics and other renegades." Ruling out all leniency towards the regime's opponents and once more branding the underground Solidarity movement's activists as agents of foreign powers, Jaruzelski referred to the possibility of "giving another chance" to the "perpetrators of certain categories of crimes against the State."

It would not be an amnesty (the word was not mentioned), but a reduction of specific sentences. For some time now there have been unofficial rumours that measures of clemency could be taken after the party congress ends. But previous experiences dictate caution. General Jaruzelski had once before promised a similar measure before last autumn's elections. In fact, however, all the best known opponents were excluded from the measure. At any rate, the authorities will have a very wide field to choose from when it comes to indicating who will benefit from reductions of sentences considering that the numbers arrested have been rising lately.

The First Secretary also hinted at measures to benefit those convicted of crimes. This is urgently needed as Polish gaols are heavily overcrowded.

Jaruzelski had some rather harsh words for the United States, but considered against the background of the violent anti-American propaganda in the press what he said seemed to be "relatively" mild. Of all the West European countries, he expressed an interest only in Federal Germany: nothing, apart from the revenge-seekers, he said, would hamper good relations between Warsaw and Bonn (the West German Social Democratic Party, along with Greece's PASOK, are moreover the only two Socialist parties to have sent observers to the congress).

All the same he did cause a minor surprise, but in quite an unexpected area when he proposed that "all the Communist and worker parties" meet shortly "to determine jointly" ways of searching for peace.

This is probably a skilful way of reviving the tradition — but only to talk about peace — of big world conferences of Communist parties that Moscow has not succeeded in organising for a long time. Public calls for such events made earlier by representatives of smaller Communist parties have gone unheeded. This would appear to be the first time that the leader of a big socialist country has put the idea forward and in Gorbachev's presence, that is, with his approval.

(July 1)

Government runs into flak on nationality bill

THE "PASQUA BILL" (draft bill sponsored by Interior Minister Charles Pasqua) on the entry into, and residence in, France of foreigners has yet to be adopted in parliament, and already there is another draft bill in the works aimed at amending the 1973 nationality code. The reforms, which were a plank in the joint election platform of the UDF (Union pour la démocratie française)-RPR (Rassemblement pour la République) and were confirmed by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in his policy speech in the National Assembly, are still being hammered out at the Justice Ministry.

The extreme rightwing Front National jumped the gun on April 21 by coming up with a draft proposal for a thoroughgoing amendment of the 1973 code. The RPR has just made a similar initiative, though it is less radical. The draft bill proposed by Pierre Mazeaud (RPR, Haute-Savoie) and all the members of the Parliamentary RPR goes well beyond the intentions credited to the government.

Should it be seen as a move to occupy the ground and prevent National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen from scoring points? Or is it a bid to influence the government, if not to twist its arm? Chirac has already considerably toned down Pasqua's draft, and some RPR members of parliament doubtless do not want him to subject the nationality proposals to the same treatment. But it is doubtful that all the signatories of Mazeaud's draft bill have properly read the text which in its present form could send the defenders of immigrants into a fury and give centrist members of parliament a lot of problems.

Mazeaud proceeds from the argument that *jus soli* (the rule that a child's citizenship is determined by its place of birth) has "lost its usefulness". He holds that such "involuntary acquisition" of nationality by the fact of being born in France was formerly intended solely to increase the number of military conscripts and has lost its "justification".

The RPR's draft bill allows only one form of acquiring French nationality — when a French citizen adopts a foreign child. All other applicants would have to go through naturalisation procedures and be "judged worthy" of French citizenship. All this would mean doing away with 25 articles of the code (23,24,33,37 to 58) and amending some 15 others.

In particular, Mazeaud is considering dropping Article 23, which automatically confers French citizenship on a child of a foreign parent when it is born in France. The provision is especially helpful to Algerians and "produced" some 20,000 new French citizens in 1983. Mazeaud, who is the RPR vice-chairman of the Laws Commission, also wants to drop Article 44 which makes any child born in France of a foreign parent, who has himself been born abroad, a Frenchman at the age of 18 on condition he had not objected to it in the year preceding his attainment of majority. Some 17,000 young people took advantage of this provision in 1983.

By Robert Solé

The RPR draft bill also wants to end the possibility of acquiring nationality through marriage (10,300 cases in 1984): it will be no longer possible to become French by making a simple declaration after six months of living together. The candidate for naturalisation in this way would have to put his case to the authorities, but he would have no guarantee that his petition would be accepted. In naturalisation cases (18,500 applications accepted in 1984), the authorities in fact can reject an application without giving any explanations.

"Acquisitions of nationality are automatic today, but naturalisations are very difficult," says Mazeaud. "The former must be limited and the latter facilitated." But this does not prevent providing for a sort of examination for the candidate without academic qualifications. The test will be designed to "determine that he knows French, French history and the institutions of the Republic." The foreigner "would appear before a board" in conditions to be established by decree.

Another new departure, inspired by the United States, is the taking of the oath. The candidate for naturalisation would have to declare in public and before the presiding judge: "I swear loyalty to France and obedience to the Constitution of the Republic. I pledge allegiance to the French Republic and renounce all allegiance to any States, of which I could have nationality, even involuntarily."

The naturalised Frenchman will be given a regular identity card, but he would not be sure of keeping it for all that. The RPR draft bill in fact provides for the following: "The person who has become naturalised French and who is later convicted in terms of Article 79 by reason of facts committed within five years of acquiring French nationality, retroactively loses French nationality." This is probably the clause that will cause the biggest uproar.

Mazeaud considers he is "moved by the same philosophy as the government" and does not rule out the possibility of his draft serving as the basis for amending the nationality code. This remains to be seen. Government experts who have gone through the dossier have noticed that certain articles of the code cannot be touched without setting off a series of modifications and threatening to upset the balance of the legislation as a whole.

One clever shift has been proposed for modifying Article 23 (which grants French nationality at birth) without really touching it. Does not this article also help a child who has a parent who was born in a former French overseas possession? By doing away with this detail, only 3,000 to 4,000 Africans a year would be penalised — numbers that would decline gradually — but it would not prevent Algerians born in France after their country became independent from acquiring French nationality automatically.

What will Chirac decide to do? A reform limited to the nationality code, presented as a way of helping the integration of foreigners and forming part of the overall immigration policy, would have gone through fairly easily. But coming on the heels of the "Pasqua bill", it is likely to look like a another form of discrimination. The Prime Minister will need a great deal of skill to be able to avoid touching off a new campaign of protests while at the same time satisfying his Majority's most hardline members.

(July 2)

A group of French drama students have been to the United States to try out the acti methods which have produced many stage and film stars. In exchange, some Americ apprentice actors have been visiting France and getting a taste of the dictatorial metho used by French directors. The result has proved both positive and unexpected.

French actors get UCLA culture shock

By Laurence Benaim

THREE drama schools — Les Amandiers at Nanterre near Paris, the drama department of the university of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the American Musical and Dramatic Academy (AMDA) — recently organised an exchange of their respective students.

For six weeks, 22 Americans worked at Les Amandiers (*see below*), while 18 French students of Pierre Romans, head of that school, trod the boards on the Californian campus or on Broadway.

The scheme, financed by the French Association for Artistic Action (AFFA), had already been tried out in 1984, with an exchange between Les Amandiers and the O'Neil Theatre Center in Waterford, Connecticut.

The current programme ended on June 20 with a private performance by all those involved.

The feeling among French students is that their six weeks in the United States were "positive but surprising". What did they best remember about their stay? A constant urging to "be positive": diet-sodas and pizzas at dawn; giant toasters and some very fat, if contented people; battered old Chevrolets; fits of rage thrown by teachers of singing, movement, drama and musical comedy.

The students were split into two groups, with eight going to AMDA and ten to UCLA. So while some acquainted themselves with the dinky town of Westwood and the methods of the Actors' Studio, the rest found themselves caught up in the razzmatazz of "cocaine city", knuckling down to intensive singing lessons and nine hours a week of modern jazz and tap dancing, as well as improvisation classes.

Although they encountered different working methods all the French students returned from the US with the feeling they had met what the Americans call "professionalism" — the art of controlling one's body and temper, humility, a tremendous will to practise hard, and an obsession with the public.

In a studio high above Broadway, Harry, who is in such perfect trim it is hard to believe he is 60, takes his students through a *bourrée* step: "You're not in a night club here. *You* haven't paid to get in." He smiles and pouts into a mirror: "It is *they* who have paid to come and see you."

Delia Salvi, teacher of acting at UCLA, trying to teach a class, is always ready to pounce on anyone she hears whispering. She says she is shocked by the French students' lack of discipline.

When the storm has blown over, one of her students confides: "You have to let yourself go whatever happens. You're not allowed to slip away or hide behind the actor's persona. Here they want you to be seen taking risks. That's the positive side of the American method."

It is easy to imagine what it was like for the 18 young students when they arrived in the States: supporting the look that is now *de rigueur* in France — untidy hair, romantic rings under eyes, a wan complexion — they suddenly found themselves plunged into an atmosphere of artificial good humour and non-stop fun. That sort of experience is quite a wrench for an "intellectual".

The first sessions at UCLA were stormy. It is hard to act like an obedient teenager when you are used, as one student said, to "behaving like an actor in a theatre company."

Pierre Romans at Nanterre does not give his students marks, he simply directs them. Aspiring students are put through a rigorous selection process: first they have to send in a photo, then they are subjected to an audition. Of 2,000 who apply, only 20 are accepted.

Romans does not expect his students to be able to draw an exponential curve. At UCLA, on the other hand, as in all American universities with a fine arts department, the teaching process takes place just as much in the lecture halls as on stage.

After two years of compulsory general training, students spend another two years of learning about scriptwriting, costumes and set construction. Those who take the history of the theatre as part of their syllabus have to turn in one essay a week on a set play (there are 30 in all).

Courses cost $430 a term for Californian residents and $1,700 for anyone else. No expense is spared to stage the department's productions — last year, the costumes for "Hamlet" cost $6,000.

Students work hard to get their degree. It is not unusual to find the Shakespearean actor one had seen on stage the previous evening sitting behind a cafeteria cash-desk the following morning.

It was all a bit of a culture shock for the French students. Although they managed to get out of classes in dramatic theory, they were put through the basic training. This involved daily warm-up sessions where they had to wag their chins, emit primal screams and let themselves go in every conceivable way. "At first," says Vincent Perez, one of the students, "one is afraid of giving oneself away, so one moves badly."

"The Freud students sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Stanislavsky's celebrated Method . . . 'What? Are we expected to take part in group psychotherapy? Not on your life'. . ."

There was no real language problem, though chairman John Cauble called in an interpreter. Certain instructions hardly needed to be translated, such as "Relax" or "Feel your body".

But the French students, too stiff and too tense, sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Konstantin Stanislavsky's celebrated Method, which involves associating a scene with a lived experience and building up a role by rummaging in one's emotional past. They were given a quarter of an hour to work their way into an emotion.

At first they protested: "What? Are we expected to take part in group psychotherapy? Not our life!" Gradually their misggs melted away under the glof novelty and excitement.

Seen from the stalls, the ple thing looked like a play wi a play. The actors would warap, stretch their limbs, whisper put insults at the shadows. But the end of the day they hadeen softened up and were roady tart acting — "not tête-à-têt but belly-to-belly" as they pu it.

The methods used in AMI are similar: "You're a cowboy Ingine that John Wayne is lokg at you." At times it looked and felt a bit like a school playground. But the students had already been taught the basic lesson that a movement is no good if you are afraid of making it, that you have to forget the mirror to convince *yourself*.

The Texan star Cherie Bennet, a large pink apparition with platinum locks of hair tumbling over her forehead, thought her French students were "terrific". As she watched them tucking into their *chili con carne*, she opined that they could well have a professional acting future ahead of them. But, she added, "six weeks is too short."

Bennet pointed out that at AMDA 80 per cent of candidates are eliminated at the start, and another 50 per cent told they need not come back after one year. As at UCLA, courses have to be paid for — in this case $6,000 a year.

One cannot help feeling that the French students, whose board and lodging was paid for, had been sucked into the "Bob Fosse system" — by the dint of fierce practice sessions, and of singing, by learning the lyrica phonetically. Perhaps that is what they meant when they said the result of their trip was "positive".

'Talk, talk, talk. And when do they sleep?'

"WHEN do they ever sleep over here?" said Kelly Gibler, a Californian who spent six weeks in France as part of the drama student exchange scheme. In all her time in Paris she managed to see only the Eiffel Tower. The French, in her view, are bleary eyed, not very fond of drinking milk, and much given to endless discussion.

The first things that surprised the 22 American students (13 from UCLA and nine from AMDA) when they came to France were the way people would sit down and dissect the characters of the play, and the very precise instructions given by the director.

The plays they worked on included Molière's "L'Impromptu de Versailles", Ivan Turgenev's "A Month in the Country", and Jean-Paul Sartre's "Les Séquestrés d'Altona", "one of the best introductions to French theatre", according to John Berry, who shared the task of directing the students with Pierre Romans.

They had never got so close to the text before, but had simply played out a scene or two in front of their teacher. According to one of the students, "in the States, the third eye doesn't exist." He was referring to the director, that constantly mobile voyeur who follows the actors' every step and indicates pauses with his hands.

"When Pierre Romans looks at us," John Lynch, an AMDA student explains, "you think he is painting a picture. What a difference! In the States, our teachers only give is guidance when we ourselves have made a suggestion."

The American students' second surprise was the way the French use space. "When they arrived here they had no idea how to move," says Romans with some vehemence. Fred Astaire's very own grandsons were apparently as stilted in their movements as robots; "They just made their exits and entrances, but never opened up."

Could it be that the "total" actor is less expressive than his or her Cartesian counterpart? If so, yet another myth has been exploded.

Lawrence Hilty, a Californian living in New York, who dances and plays baseball and basketball, says he learned what "freedom of body" means: "The French are more choreographical, they're not scared of making big gestures."

The deepest impression left on him was by two plays he saw in Paris, "Quai Ouest", directed Patrice Chéreau, and Antoine Vitez's production of Jean Giraudoux's "Electre" at the Palais de Chaillot.

It was by watching the actress playing Electra, Evelyne Istria, that he understood what the play was about. "Her slightest movement was for me a piece of art. But that kind of production wouldn't go down well in New York. It would be regarded as too unrealistic. People hold themselves back on Broadway — perhaps because that's what audiences want. They've been perverted by TV soap opera. Here in France, at least the theatre has retained a touch of madness.

L.B.

Growing ›fugee proble› in the isthmus

By Denis Hautin-raut

SAN JOSÉ — There are over 300,000 refugees in Central America, from Panama to Mexico, and their numbers have been increasing in recent years. Whether they are Guatemalans running away from endemic violence to the closest Mexican point of refuge; Salvadorans who have since 1981 been at the mercy of paramilitary groups or guerrilla movements; or Nicaraguans now grown tired of a revolution becoming bogged down in an armed conflict, the refugees from the isthmus are causing increasing problems in their host countries, where the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is helping close to a third of their numbers.

The Boca Renal camp in northern Costa Rica looks almost like the symbol of this influx. On the concrete floor of the communal hall which has been turned into a transit camp, some 200 two-decker bunk beds are in place. Under a corrugated roof live 400 people with a few square yards of beaten earth surrounded by wire fencing as their only "garden". It is one of Central America's oldest camps, and its closure, decreed many times, has never lasted beyond a few weeks. "It's the ultra-temporary which is likely to last a long time yet," said a local UNHCR official.

These refugees, whose existence is recognised by all their countries of origin with the exception of Cuba, are concentrated for the most part in two countries — Costa Rica and Honduras. For some years, Nicaragua used to be a haven for Salvadoran refugees who have gradually become assimilated within farming cooperatives in this country which has a low population density. Very few immigrants are however arriving today in Nicaragua and the UNHCR there is helping hardly more than 500 people.

The situation is different in Costa Rica, where a long democratic tradition and the absence of an army provided for in the Constitution have always encour-agm influx of refugees, all the moo as its immigration laws arery liberal. About 15,000 Niquans are on Costa Rican terry. Large numbers of Salorans and Nicaraguans are alsossing into Honduras, which is ated at the heart of the con in the isthmus.

Iese two countries, the first hun to the influx is the worsening iomic situation. A municipal icillor from the town of San Ant close to the Salvadoran bord said "this cannot last". He explid that the people "gave the it refugees a favourable welc, but the situation dragged on, ir numbers increased and we e enough problems ourselve ying to live without having support this population indefly. There's no question of offerithem any more land."

Edulo is a 28-year-old Nicaraguan cher who has lived in the Limorransit camp near Costa Rica's lantic coast with his wife and tchildren for the past three years. e told me he baked buns and si them in the camp. "It's almosnpossible for us to work in town," he said. "It's one of the poorospart of the country and the polatio doesn't take kindly to refees who take jobs away from tim, exept seasonally."

Give this uation, more and more acurity hecks are carried out inside the camp premises themselves. Refgees have to obtain a pas o lve camp and on their retum musprovide proof of their emplormen if they have succeeded in findi any. The two countries' authoriti are moreover rying to keep a iter check on their borders. But, former Costa Rican Premier, Jenez Veiga, now a adviser to the new President Oscar Ariapointed out: "How do you expect to succeed with 700 guardsmerwhere the Nicaraguans with 5,0 soldiers have failed?"

The refugee camps in Honduras are guarded permanen by the army and frequent paols are carried out inside ther. These occasionally lead to incidents. Recently, a search by soldiers in the Colomoncagua camp in the south of the country resulted in three deaths and several injuries. Nor does the army hesitate to turn back would-be refugees from El Salvador when they arrive at the border. In April, a scuffle resulted in the deaths of several people and many others were handed over to the Salvadoran military authorities. Things have reached such a point that the UNHCR has taken the unprecedented step of setting up a group of two or three persons to patrol the border either on foot or on horseback and provide assistance to new arrivals with the Honduran authorities. It is an initiative which is creating inevitable tension.

Political reservations are in fact present everywhere. Honduran President José Azcona considers the Sandinista government is "bogged down in its mistakes", but says Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte "is an admirable figure". One understands then, the big difference in treatment shown the "rebels" from one country and the other. The refugee camps are moreover accused of serving as rear bases for guerrilla movements. They are said to be supplying food and medicines to the fighters. In fact, this assistance is symbolic in as much as the large numbers of refugees in the Colomoncagua and Mesa Grande camps in Honduras (over 20,000 people) receive barely sufficent food and medicines to satisfy their own requirements.

On the other hand, the camps are widely exploited by the guerrilla movements as "moral surety" for their cause — the living proof that their country is suffering from problems which it is urgent to combat, since a segment of the population has been forced to leave the country. And the various pressures exerted inside the camps by elected representatives are another obstacle to the solutions considered by the UNHCR for the refugee population — absorption within the host country or repatriation.

This is a choice the refugees do not want. To discourage anyone who might be tempted to accept one or other of the solutions, camp representatives are stepping up "information campaigns". They relate, for example, how such and such a family's return home ended in arrests once the border was crossed. Others emphasise the exactions committed in the home country, but nobody is in a position to verifying them. An increasing number of signs asserting "No repatriation, no displacement" is appearing on walls and everybody swears "there's no question of moving away from a border we still hope to cross one day."

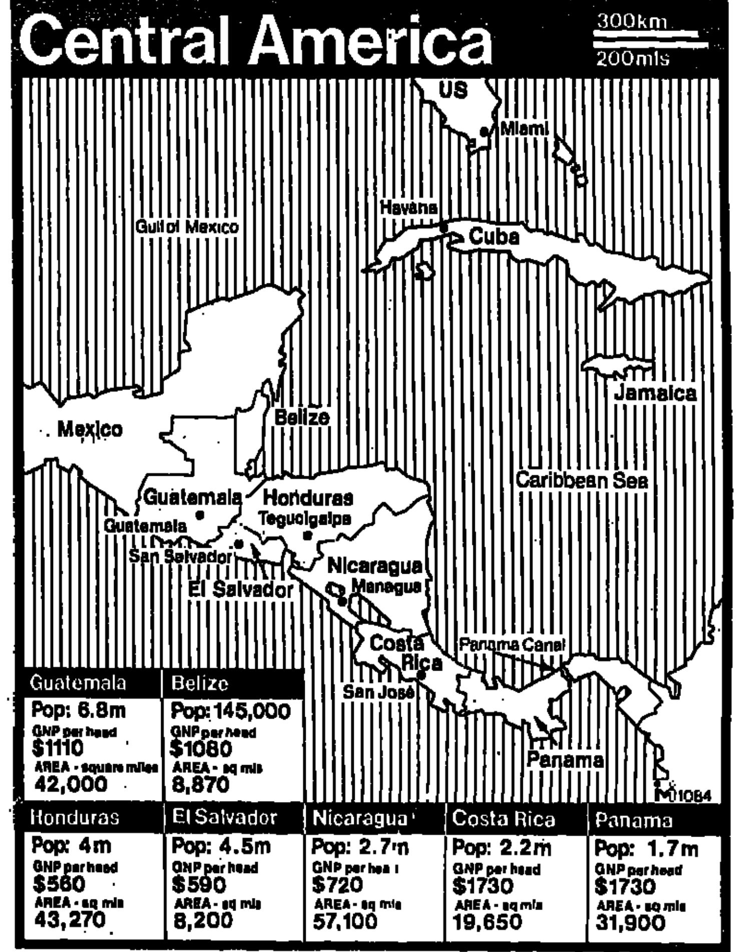
The UNHCR is consequently having a huge problem organising "active camps", where the refugees, apart from having something to do, enjoy comparative self-sufficiency. The High Commission's job is made more complicated by the presence of many non-governmental organisations which in various ways take charge of the camp inmates. Giving considerable assistance, they are also occasionally the cause of friction with the local authorities. Soccorro International, which used to run the camp at Limon, has been evicted as a result of incidents. In the same way, Caritas could also lose its right to administer camps in Honduras.

It is the large number of problems — economic, military and political — involved in harbouring refugees, along with the risk of a new influx, that is worrying both the political authorities and the UNHCR. The latter is trying to persuade certain countries like Costa Rica to apply stricter standards in granting refugee status to new arrivals.

"But of course without setting up quotas," explained the UNHCR official in San José. As a matter of fact, there are large numbers of people who are coming over in search of a solution to the economic difficulties they face in their own countries rather than political asylum.

Hope is not entirely absent in such a situation. Salvadoran refugees at the San Antonio camp organised a big celebration to mark the anniversary of the first La Palma negotiations between representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and President Napoleon Duarte. In the eyes of many, even if these negotiations broke down, they point to a possible future different from the children's drawings showing helicopter attacks and parachute drops; children who in most cases have only learnt of these things from stories told by their parents, but who also hope to go back home, even if they do not say so.

(June 27)



Guatemala	Belize	Honduras	El Salvador	Nicaragua	Costa Rica	Panama
Pop: 6.8m	Pop: 145,000	Pop: 4m	Pop: 4.5m	Pop: 2.7m	Pop: 2.2m	Pop: 1.7m
GNP per head $1110	GNP per head $1080	GNP per head $560	GNP per head $590	GNP per head $720	GNP per head $1730	GNP per head $1730
AREA - square miles 42,000	AREA - sq mls 8,870	AREA - sq mls 43,270	AREA - sq mls 8,200	AREA - sq mls 57,100	AREA - sq mls 19,650	AREA - sq mls 31,900

'The Sorcerer' retur›s to face the music in Buenos Aires

BUENOS AIRES — After four months of legal battles, the United States has allowed the extradition of José Lopez Rega to his native Argentina. From 1973 to 1975, Lopez Rega was the last Peron government's agent and *eminence grise*. His entry into the government marked the darkest chapter in Argentina's history.

Sought for almost 11 years, it was "El Brujo" (The Sorcerer) himself — this was the nickname given him because of his astrological "insights" — who gave himself up to the FBI on March 13 in the hope that Reagan's America would grant him political asylum in view of his anti-communism.

Under the terms of the extradition order, he is charged with misappropriating public funds and responsibility for eight crimes attributed to the paramilitary AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) organisation, of which he is said to have been the head. This is the least of the charges facing him considering the suspicions hanging over him and th... Under the pretext of hunting down communism, the Alliance kidnapped, tortured or assassinated Lopez Rega's enemies and rivals. Some 200 people are said to have been victims of the AAA.

Rega is alleged to have personally helped himself to millions of dollars from credits earmarked for the Presidency and funds collected for humanitarian purposes. He is also said to have organised, for his own profit, an arms trade with Libya.

Born in Buenos Aires on October 17, 1916, of Spanish parents, Jose Lopez Rega — he says he was a pioneer Peronist — pursued an unremarkable career in the federal police, retiring at the age of 45 with the rank of corporal.

The young retiree next found a job in a textile firm before trying out his luck as a singer and later becoming a printer. He printed Peronist tracts, but also astrological works. His career blossomed in 1965 when he met Maria Estela Martinez, better known as Isabel, the third wife of ... Domingo Peron, then in exile in Madrid. While on a visit to Buenos Aires, she hired Lopez Rega as a bodyguard and general aide. He did his job so well that she took him with her to Madrid. Three years later, aged 52 he became the general's private secretary and used his position to hand-pick Peron's aides and introduce him to the occult arts. At this time Peron was in his seventies and ailing, and his wife did not have the intellectual strength to stand up to Lopez Rega.

In 1973, when Peron returned triumphantly to Buenos Aires and had himself re-elected President, Lopez Rega became Minister of Social Welfare — doubtless the most important ministry in the Peron government — but did not abandon his post as the general's private secretary. When Peron died in July 1974, he naturally kept on all his prerogatives under Isabel's Presidency.

By Catherine Derlvery

Peron's return was not the cure-all expected. The general thought he could pacify his party's youth left wing, the Montoneros, who claimed allegiance to him. He thought the Marxist-inspired rebellion would also allow itself to be convinced. But things did not turn out that way. Lopes Rega had other methods. To combat terrorism he set up — according to testimony given by one of his main collaborators at the time — the AAA. At the end of 1973, the crimes committed by the AAA proliferated.

The Sorcerer settled his scores with "Communists", with the Peronist youth, and finally with all those who opposed him.

Oddly enough, Peron's death in 1974 only strengthened his hand even further but this proved to be the beginning of the end. Isabel Peron's weakness in the Presidency and the worsening situation polarised attacks on him.

The army, the Peronist labour union and some of the leaders of the Peronist movement kicked against "Brujo's" esoteric extravagances. It is said he made Isabel lie down on Eva Peron's coffin "so she could be permeated with her spiritual essence". And during the general's last days, he remained very close to him, claiming to be Peron's source of life.

In 1975, a heartbroken Isabel gave in to pressure and Lopez Rega headed for exile. He had taken up quarters in the Perons' Madrid villa when he heard of the military coup in Argentina in 1976. The new rulers, even though they took oven the AAA's men and methods, nonetheless put out an arrest warrant against him.

The exile became a fugitive. He dropped out of circulation for 11 years, most of which he spent in Switzerland — if his girlfriend is to be believed — where he has a bank account. The trial which will open shortly in Buenos Aires is likely reveal how much it contains.

The Washington Post

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Where Can We Find Our Mercenaries?

WOULD you believe that the pursuit of liberty is taking Americans toward the envious contemplation of Fidel Castro's Cubans and King George's Hessians as models for the kind of allies that the United States now needs in the world?

This administration, you see, has the containment of Soviet power very much in mind. Some parts of it also have very much in mind rolling back Soviet power, at least rolling it back from places where it was settled in the post-Vietnam years. But who is going to do the fighting that these tasks may require if the locals can't manage on their own?

The problem, for those who accept administration premises, is that Vietnam soured most Americans on foreign interventions. Richard Nixon then tried to rely on regional powers; the Shah's demise showed the limits here. Ronald Reagan has applied American muscle — indirectly — to the containment-rollback policy that sometimes goes under the name of the Reagan Doctrine; nowhere, however is success in sight.

Earlier, the Reagan administration did launch interventions. Grenada was a small success, Lebanon a medium-sized failure. But together they had a larger, unanticipated effect. They led Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to lay down what has become administration law on interventions: the only ones permissible are the quick-sure things. In practice, that means no more interventions, though accidents and alarms can never be ruled out.

The Reagan Doctrine plus the Weinberger Doctrine make for a truly bad matchup of ends and means. The first promises active pursuit of ambitious goals, and the second ensures a measure of self-restraint that, if it were being shown by Jimmy Carter, would be denounced by the Reaganites as a sellout. The resulting policy tells friends and foes alike that, for all its bold talk, this administration will go only so far.

This contradiction has comforted some administration critics, who see it as a leash on adventurism. It has impelled other people to look for something extra to plug the Reagan-Weinberger gap. These are people who regard the Reagan effort to check and to reverse Soviet expansionism as of even more urgency and long-term importance than the effort to write a new equation for strategic arms. Weinberger's deputy for policy, Fred Ikle, leads the search.

From his office there recently issued a paper written at the Rand Corporation, the California think thank where Ikle himself has worked, on "cooperative forces," Third World military units acting in concert with the United States. Katharine Watkins's paper conducts a typically sensible and antiseptic Rand discussion of the pluses and minuses of enlisting such forces when political or operational considerations keep Washington from acting on its own.

No current names are named. Still, it seems plausible that, just as friendly nations joined the United States in wars in Korea and Vietnam, some nations might now find it to their advantage as well as to the American advantage to resist Soviet power; therefore the United States might want to help them do so.

But a sharp difficulty arises when the paper starts scanning

Continued on page 16



Colman McCarthy

Reagan's Favorit‹Welfare Bums

ONE bonus came out of the Nicaraguan debate: Ronald Reagan is no longer obsessed with welfare abuse. The administration's favorite caseload of welfare bums — the Contras — has been found by the General Accounting Office to be rife with fraud, waste and mismanagement.

Less than half of the $27 million in aid ment for food, clothing and medicines has gone into the contra jungle camps. Instead, it has been tracked to secret bank accounts in the Cayman Islands, to the Honduran army or individuals or firms that the GAO, in generous restraint, said "do not appear to be suppliers in the region." It appears that everyone but Ferdinand Marcos was in on the scam.

Reagan, in his June 24 calls to Congress for aid to the contras, overlooked the corruption. Why wouldn't he? "I am a ...," he has said. Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state, also in the mood for political caution. "There is no legal basis to ask suppliers what they do with money we pay them," he told the New York Times.

There is, however, ... basis to monitor every nickel that goes to Americans who lack food, clothing or medicine. But they're not seen as keeping Daniel Ortega from marching in Harligen, Texas, nor are they modern equivalents of the Founding Fathers.

Presuming with some optimism, that half the new $100 million to the Contras does end up with them and not to Elliot Abrams's unquestioned suppliers, what will the money buy? Part of the answer, and worth a detailed look, was supplied the day before the House vote. Three West Germans, members of a group of 12 civilian volunteers that was kidnapped by the Contras for 25 days in May, came to the Capitol to describe their time among the new Founding Fathers.

Unlike Jefferson, Madison and Franklin, the Contras believed guns were more persuasive than ideas. Dominik Diehl, 23, a conscientious objector and medical student from West Berlin, was in Nicaragua to help build houses in Jacinto Baca, a farming village in southeastern Nicaragua. Forced marches up to 20 miles in the jungle were common. Diehl recalled that one of his abducted friends "was suffering from acute hepatitis. We begged the Contras to let him go free, but it was useless. One day he was so exhausted and weak that he was unable to march. Then one of the Contras put a gun to his head to force him."

A second West German, Reingard Zimmer, a 20-year-old student at the University of Hamburg and a member of a German-Nicaraguan friendship group, told of other Contra groups. One went into a village. Two houses were burned, five farmers and three children murdered. When Zimmer's abductors heard the news, they "laughed and were delighted." They themselves had only recently blown up a car. Seven people were killed, including four teachers.

Funded again, the Contras are likely to widen their war on medical students, teachers and children. Reagan pledges that "as a condition of our aid, I will insist that . . . no human-rights abuses be tolerated (and) that any financial corruption be rooted out."

On a vote of 221-109, Congress was buying. All that's needed now is a supplement bill — of, say, $250 million — for the Reagan pledge to be carried out: $100 million to monitor human rights, $100 million to stop the corruption, and $50 million for the Cayman Islands bankers.

George F. Will

The Costs Of Avoiding Anothe Somme

SEVENTY years ago, a world went smash. In a sense, we are still waist-deep in debris from (the 20th century is largely debris from) the battle that began at the Somme, July 1, 1916.

A. J. P. Taylor writes that no man in the prime of life in 1914 knew what war between the great powers — there had not been such a war since 1871 — would be like. On July 1, it was like this: Sixty-thousand British soldiers were casualties; 20,000 were killed that day. (Twenty thousand is 40 percent of the eight-year U.S. fatality toll in Vietnam.) By mid-November, when the battle oozed away into the churned mud, the British had suffered 420,000 casualties, the French 200,000 and the Germans about 450,000. The Somme front was 12 miles long. Never was more than eight miles gained.

The war was a calamitous case of new technology overwhelming old tactics. The machine gun suddenly gave decisive advantage to the defense. The old tactic of offense — slow advances by massed formations — amounted to trying to wear out machine guns with young men's chests.

On September 15, 1916, a new weapon, born in the fertile brain of Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, clanked into action: the tank. Twenty-four years later, a German regime made possible by the immobile slaughter of the First World War would send tanks racing across France to Paris.

In 1984 and 1985, we had many observances of 40th anniversaries associated with the winning of the Second World War. Wars are fought by young men, many of whom, 40 years on, linger and remember. Not so 70th anniversaries of wars. However, First World War anniversaries also should be noted because that war was worse and greater. It was worse because fought for no purpose as defensible as cleansing Europe of fascism; greater, in that the war's resonances were — still are — louder. A consequence of the Second World War was the drawing of the Soviet empire into the middle of Europe. The creation of the Soviet regime was but one evil consequence of the First World War.

The generation that marched to war on both sides in 1914 believed, more serenely than any subsequent generation has, in the inevitability of progress, the beneficence of technology, the wisdom of established authority. That generation went over the top of the trenches, and off a kind of spiritual cliff, at 7.30 a.m., July 1, 1916.

In 1919, the reading public was shocked by the title of a book: "The First World War." Surely, there would not be a second. After the second, the world understood the ruin wrought by the first. The ruin included generalized disrespect for all authority — political, moral, spiritual — because so many authorities had sustained the four-year war of attrition. Democratic publics became hospitable to a semi-pacifism that encouraged the dictators that rose from the rubble of the First World War.

In 1922, a British writer said "The most bloody defeat in the history of Britain might occur on July 1, 1916, and our press came out bland, with nothing to show that we had not had quite a good day — a victory, really. Men who lived through the massacre read the stuff open-mouthed. So it comes that each of several million ex-soldiers now reads with that maxim on guard in his mind — 'You can't believe a word you read'."

"Idealism perished at the Somme," says Taylor. And what produced this scorched social earth? Artillery, bayonets, bullets. No nuclear weapons were required, a fact worth pondering.

President Carter spoke in his Inaugural Address of "the elimination of all nuclear weapons." President Reagan says his deepest desire is elimination of nuclear weapons. That is a mistaken desire. To deter with conventional forces the conventional forces of the totally militarized Soviet Union would require permanent conscription of wealth (nuclear weapons are relatively inexpensive) and young men on a scale that no democracy has been willing to suffer other than in wartime.

Recently a U.S. senator was musing on the difficulty of explaining to college audiences why nuclear weapons, although now too numerous, are not dispensable. The senator should say: If nuclear weapons were abolished tomorrow, male undergraduates would find themselves headed not for Salomon Brothers and the delights of investment banking, but to Army barracks on Europe's central front for the low-paying trade of deterring Soviet conventional forces.

"Conventional forces." The phrase has a soothing sound — until you remember what conventional forces did 70 years ago. They killed men one by one, but with a cumulative effect that was socially shattering. Nuclear weapons were not required. They are required today for the prevention of battles as ruinous as the Somme.

The Wan Post

Worst Of ı Worlds

IN RESPECT to the World Coṭ that the United States is violating international law in NiReagan administration has tried to have it both ways. . to defend itself against Nicaragua's charges, but now it court's decision. First the administration looked as if it fecase was weak, and now it sounds like a poor loser. This is ormance all around.

The World Court is not a cowse that it interprets and enforces a body of law that conty of sovereign states. But, aside from the narrow range of cites agree to submit to it, it is a custodian of something rnational law" that is a recognised and useful standard lations want their policy to measure up to. Americans fount valuable in the Iranian hostage crisis. Only when Manag to condemn U.S. policy did the Reagan administration startult with its members and ways. The court did make a shar by taking up a complaint involving an armed conflict. Arl confident administration, however, would have realised thatod forum in which to reply.

Why did the Reagan adminiat the chance? The obvious defense was that the United Statesting Nicaraguan guerrillas, is engaged in collective self-defens government that supports Salvadoran guerrillas. But here thration has hamstrung itself by failure to make public the ice showing a continuing Nicaraguan role in El Salvador.

Common sense suggests that thalvadoran insurgency is not supported by mirrors, any more thaaraguan insurgency is. The secret intelligence has demonstratagua's role even to many congressional critics of Reagan poliflcials, intent on protecting intelligence sources, have prevailthose pleading to disclose Managua's hand. It has always seen a political mistake.

But that may not be the whole of lis reason to suspect that the administration's aim is not merelyce the regime to leave its neighbors alone but to remove it wer. No government could acknowledge such a goal to the Worl

That leaves the Reagan administrah the worst of two worlds. It stands condemned for violating inthal law, and the policy for which it is condemned seems u to produce its intended requirements of overthrowing the ıists, short of direct U.S. intervention that the president insistlos out.

OPEC Isn'inished

OPEC is a classic cartel, and classic care usually short-lived. One reason for this was visible in the collaOPEC's latest attempt to get a lock on its market. Meeting at BrYugoslavia's sumptuous and decidedly nonproletarian island resort, OPEC's members were able to agree immediately to raise the price c But ow? The only way is to cut back production, and no country wallinı tcut enough to make a difference. The meeting broke up in fae oiceagain, and all the oil ministers and their retinues departed theiryahts and private jets. Each of them will keep pumping like ma whe using the greed and arrogance of the oil.

Does it mean the price of oil will remainlow'or while? Apparently. And that you ought to begin speaking of OPEC in the past tense? Not yet. Be careful.

As always, a great deal depends on Saudi Arabia. Feveral years the Saudis have been selling steadily lower amounts of , in an effort to maintain a high price in a world in which demand was falling and other countries were producing more. Some OPEC's members were cheating by producing more than their quotas. Late last summer the Saudis decided that they were following the wrong strategy. They began raising their production, deliberately pushing down prices. The purpose clearly was to force some of the high-cost producers out of the market and punish the OPEC cheaters, while dissuading the industrial countries from diminishing their dependance on oil. Saudi production went from 2.3 million barrels a day to 4.7 million in December. The world price went from $27 a barrel in December to $12 currently. Supply-and-demand works.

What OPEC's other members think about it is secondary. OPEC's new competitors — Mexico, Britain, China — are all now producing more oil than any OPEC member itself. The Saudis have evidently decided that in these circumstances the cartel's international quarrels are intractable, at least for the present.

With their vast reserves, by far the largest in the world, the Saudis can afford to play a long game. As other countries deplete their reserves, an increasing proportion of what is left will lie under the Saudi desert.

The industrial countries have to be very careful to discourage renewed increases in consumption. It seems all but certain that supply will decline in the next decade and prices will respond. More than ever, Saudi Arabia will be in a position to decide when, and how much. When prices begin rising, it will be much easier to enforce discipline in the cartel. The Brioni meeting was an acknowledgment that OPEC is out of business for now — not necessarily forever.

Finding Mercenaries

Continued from page 15

selected past uses of foreign troops, among them mercenaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, British Gurkhas and the French Foreign Legion. Then Cuba: "The Soviet-Cuban relationship seems to be the best model for defining Cooperative Forces. Clearly there are some differences between this relationship and one including a democracy. However, the basic premise of mutual benefit still holds. The Cubans gain prestige or financial aid, the Soviets gain new, friendly governments."

Now, it's only a paper, but it's not any old paper; it has friendly Pentagon patronage. No doubt it would be convenient to have available the likes of the Cubans, East Germans and others who do Moscow's Third World bidding. But Washington does not have allies, or treat allies, like that, does it? The ties that bind peoples who are free or, at least, aspiring to be free, cannot rest on the hegemony the Kremlin thrusts upon its clients. An American policy that looks finally to the Cuban or even to the Hessian mercenary model is a policy going off the deep end.

Patriotism And Its Symbols

By Ralph Nader

Special to The Washington Post

AROUND the dinner table in the New England town where I grew up, our parents would observe at just the proper time in our political discussions that loving our country meant working hard to make it more lovable. The flag, they would add, could take care of itself.

This advice did not keep their children from rushing down to the annual July Fourth parade on Main Street or arguing over the desirability of America the Beautiful versus the Star Spangled Banner as our national anthem. Commemoration of the nation's Independence Day was fun, and it made us feel good.

It wasn't long before my mother and father found an opportunity to restate their message. They did not adopt the defensive patriotism of many immigrants who were sensitive lest their foreign accents and customs seem to cast doubt on their love of the USA.

"When I sailed past the Statue of Liberty in 1912," my father once said to us, "I took it seriously." He and my mother wanted to exercise — not massage — their new freedoms on behalf of greater justice and a better democracy. They were all too alert to the fate of nations and peoples who wallow in collective praise at the expense of exercising their rights against the abuses of power and the blockage of opportunity.

The 1940s were easy for patriotism. Against the backdrop of World War II, who wasn't a patriot? The '50s were the Eisenhower years, when patriotic feeling elected a wartime commander who, unlike men in that office who never served in the military, rarely flaunted their patriotism. The '60s were a reaction to the smugness and conformity of the prior 15 years. The challengers accused the self-styled super-patriots of using the flag as a bandana or fig leaf to hide shame, injustice and aggression, particularly against minorities at home and the Vietnamese abroad.

For different reasons, Nixon's Watergate and Jimmy Carter delayed the inevitable backlash — and return to patriotism — until the fallout from the Iranian hostage crisis spilled over into the waiting hands of Ronald Reagan.

In the '80s, patriotism and its symbols increasingly have become media extravaganzas for commercial and political exploitation. Such shows and speeches, disassociated as they are from contemporary deeds and national missions, have become refuges for holders of power who seek to define and control the nation's patriotic sentiments.

The profitable hoopla surrounding the Statute of Liberty is more than show business. Organizing millions of school children to collect quarters and dollars to refurbish the statue was done in a style akin to the monument idolatry of far less democratic regimes abroad. How many of these children learned anything about civil liberties and civil rights in our country during this drive? The promoters were not sympathetic to such linkage.

The challenge is to find activities in our own daily lives that give meaning to our patriotic slogans, and that allow us to define our love for our country through civic achievement. Patriotism is a powerful idea, and one that should be defined by citizens, not by their rulers alone. For me, the meaning of patriotism lies in working to make America more lovable.

The corporatization of our nation's patriotic symbols did not start with this year's Statue of Liberty celebration. George Washington's birthday has for decades been overwhelmingly a time for sales. Early elementary-school teachers have told me that when they raise a picture of President Washington in class for identification, their pupils reply: "He's the car salesman." "He sells stereos." Who has not seen, ad nauseum, the transformation by television and print advertising of Lincoln, Franklin, Jefferson and Einstein — into pitchmen asking us to buy furniture, appliances, insurance and bank services? An executive for an insurance company named after Lincoln wrote me once, after I sent him a query about commercialization, saying he believed his company was enhancing Lincoln's reputation.

The mercantile sheen is overpowering the historical memory of America's leaders, especially among the younger generations who grew up in a television age. When was the last time a Lincoln's or Washington's Birthday was an occasion for celebrating what these men and their times accomplished?

'Early elementary-school teachers have told me that when they raise a picture of President Washington in class for identification, their pupils reply: "He's the car salesman," "He sells stereos".'

Our national political leaders, much like the corporations, view the sentiments and symbols of the patria as grist in the selling of themselves during and between elections.

Consider Ronald Reagan, an artful master of patriotic ceremonies and rhetoric. Hardly missing an occasion, whether in a sports arena or on a former battlefield, he tells us how much he loves America. With a disarming flattery that only a former actor could perfect, he performs his "Miller Time" politics. But shouldn't his oratorical fervor be measured by actual behavior and accomplishments? Or, as semanticists have warned might happen, have the words themselves become the deeds?

To me, loving America should mean energetic efforts to apply existing laws to advance the cleanliness and safety of the water, the air, the soil and the food supply. Loving America should mean maintaining its public investment in highways, soil-erosion control, forests and estuaries. Loving America is furthering the public trust of its public lands, its public airwaves and its public election processes. Loving America is avoiding economic policies that have pushed our country into the No. 1 debtor nation in the world, the biggest trade and budget deficits in the world, a chronically high unemployment and poverty rate and a slow rate of economic growth.

Loving America means loving little Americans in need of nutrition and health care. It means loving poor and disabled Americans with a responsive government. It means loans to students and training assists to unemployed youngsters. It means law and order against the powerful who prey upon the powerless. It means a refusal to undermine civil rights, civil liberties, the right of privacy, and the freedom of information. It could also mean a national drive on illiteracy and its immense human and economic costs.

How does President Reagan measure up to these standards of patriotism? Not well, to put it charitably.

But what about his greatest patriotic pride — the re-arming of America. True, we are in an even greater state of Mutually Assured Destruction capability. There are plans for more and bigger missiles. There is also more fraud, abuse, waste and corruption inherent in a vastly larger military budget. There is also an appallingly weak conventional military capability.

But how difficult it is to question these national problems when the media and the public are daunted by a president waving a huge American flag against the Evil Empire. Manipulative patriotism is a feedstock for Reagan, which allows him to rise above accountability for his own policies.

There are good reasons to reject phony commercial and political expressions of patriotism. The former debases a great asset for any organized society. The latter misuses that asset as a mechanism of submission and control — or, as recent history of other countries has demonstrated, as a method for collective madness and destruction.

The patriotic dazzle surrounding controversial issues also can short-circuit deliberate thinking and the protection of dissent. To be sure, there will always be struggles over the symbols of patriotism. But we should strive nonetheless, to discern a kind of patriotism that is not an abstraction steeped in nostalgia, but a real, living monument that can be judged by the standard of "liberty and justice for all."

Finally, if "consent of the governed" is to have any meaning, the abstract ideal of country has to be separated from those who rule it; otherwise the corporate and political governments cannot be evaluated by citizens. And it is the citizenry who must provide the nourishment for a many-splendored patriotism that is open to all people to perfect in their neighborhoods, communities, states and nation.

Let one example illustrate this point: Much of our drinking water is contaminated with heavy metals, organic chemicals and other carriers of silent violence to the health of millions of people. Since 1974, a Safe Drinking Water Act has been available to presidents for making that water safer.

In five and a half years, despite a duty and knowledge to act, President Reagan has not issued a single contaminant-control standard under that law. By a bipartisan vote of 94 to 0, the Senate recently sent him legislation with deadlines for issuing some major regulations dealing with drinking-water hazards. He signed the bill with reluctance.

Unless citizens can turn a national mission for clean drinking water into a patriotic endeavor, Reagan is not likely to become enthusiastic. So latent is his sense of patriotism regarding drinking-water cleanup that it is likely to be quickened only if it could be proved conclusively that the cause of America's contaminated drinking water is an international communist conspiracy.

A patriotism that has been narrowed for use by government and corporations asks only for servile nods or a burst of applause from its subjects. A new and broader patriotism requires a thinking assent from its citizens. In today's era of proliferating atomic weapons, if patriotism is to have any "manifest destiny," it is in building a world where all humankind is our bond in peace.

(Ralph Nader is a consumer advocate. His latest book is "The Big Boys: Power and Position in American Business.")

Remembering Entebbe — Fortune Favors The Brave

By Phil McCombs

TEN YEARS ago, Lt. Col. Joshua Shani peered into the overcast African night from the cockpit of his C-130 Hercules and saw, lined up before him, the runway lights of Entebbe International Airport.

"It was quite an easy landing," says Shani, now a full colonel and the air attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. "I didn't use any landing lights; it was a dark landing, which isn't a big deal. We didn't want anyone to see us."

The plane landed unnoticed, and what followed has become legend. Israel, acting boldly and alone on July 3 and 4, 1976, sent an airborne force of special commandos 2,300 miles across often hostile terrain to rescue 105 hostages held by pro-Palestinian terrorists.

The strike was quickly conceived and executed, it was "surgical," and it worked.

Within minutes after the first plane touched down, seven of the terrorists were dead along with 20 to 40 Ugandan troops, and the hostages, who had been hijacked aboard an Air France flight to Paris, were freed. Three hostages died.

"This operation," then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said at the time, "will be the subject of research, of poetry and legend." In Jerusalem last week, at a gathering of some of the former hostages and their rescuers, Israeli President Chaim Herzog described the raid as "Israel's shining hour . . . an operation that electrified the world's imagination."

Israel's action was widely applauded, but American presidents who sought to emulate it were less successful and less warmly praised. Jimmy Carter's raid on Iran ended in disaster at Desert One, and Ronald Reagan's bombing of Libya brought no cooperation from the French and criticism from many quarters. International terrorism, for Americans and others, remains a nearly intractable problem, and there may never be a success to equal Israel's daring achievement a decade ago.

Shani was a 30-year-old squadron commander when he piloted the lead plane into Entebbe. Aboard his plane was Gen. Dan Shomron, the commander of the raid, and Lt. Col. Jonathan Netanyahu, head of the assault party that freed the hostages and the only Israeli military fatality.

What follows is Shani's version of events, which differs in some respects from other versions, the instant books and the TV movie. A tall, tanned, athletic man who speaks clear but strongly accented English, he tells the story in his embassy office.

As he talks, he smokes Marlboros from a hard pack. On desks and tables around the office are scale models of warplanes and helicopters. On the walls are pictures of planes, and one picture of a black Mercedes. The Mercedes played a crucial role in the raid and was aboard Shani's plane, along with two Land Rovers.

The hostages were being held in an old terminal building at Entebbe, south of the Ugandan capital of Kampala in central Africa. They had been hijacked on June 27 aboard an Air France flight from Tel Aviv to Paris via Athens. There were 246 passengers plus crew to begin; by July 4, the day of the raid, only 105 hostages remained after most of the non-Jews were released. The process used to separate Jews from non-Jews was chillingly reminiscent of "selections" in the death camps of Nazi Germany.

The terrorists — perhaps 10 in all — stood guard over the hostages inside the building, which was guarded outside by Ugandan troops. Ugandan President Idi Amin was all but openly cooperating with the terrorists, although when he visited the hostages and spoke to them he pretended to be neutral.

Israeli intelligence learned that on these visits Amin arrived in a black Mercedes flanked by two Land Rovers. Israel was making diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis. At the same time, preparations were going forward for a possible military rescue operation. The first military plan, Shani says, was to drop paratroopers in Lake Victoria, the source of the Nile, on which Entebbe is located. The idea was for the troopers to row ashore in rubber boats and attack.

A key reason for abandoning the plan was technical. The C-130s would need spare fuel for the 15-hour round trip, making it impossible to safely nose up high enough to drop cargo into the lake. "Also, we didn't like to jump into water," says Shani, "because that place is full of crocodiles, and crocodiles are more frightening to us than terrorists."

Suddenly, the time pressure was intense. The terrorists were demanding the release of other terrorists imprisoned by Israel and Western European nations, and it appeared they might soon begin killing the hostages at Entebbe.

"We had 24 hours to plan, rehearse and execute" an operation, says Shani. "In 24 hours the only way to do it is very simply. Why jump if you can land on the main runway?"

Somebody got the idea that if they drove up to the terminal in a black Mercedes flanked by Land Rovers, the Ugandan troops outside the terminal would think it was Amin and hold their fire. "And we needed just a few seconds of hesitation to let our people penetrate the terminal."

The Israeli planners began hunting for a black Mercedes. "We tried Hertz and Avis. They didn't have one in Tel Aviv." Finally a car was found at a small Mercedes dealer, but it was white. Israeli troops quickly got a can of black paint and painted it. "A very lousy job." But, when the moment came, it fooled the Ugandans as planned.

Shani led the flight of four C-130s. The last plane was nearly empty so there would be room for the hostages. They left Sharm el Sheikh on the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula at about 4.30pm, Israel time, on July 3. They went down the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, flying low to dodge radar in these countries and aboard Soviet ships.

How low?

Shani pauses, thinks "Let's call it very, very low," he says with a smile. "Just very, very low." Flying low is tiring and uses a lot of fuel, so when they turned right over Ethiopia they increased altitude. Over Lake Victoria they went through a "huge thunderstorm and that was hell inside." They maintained radio silence. Israel did not alert other nations. Surprise was everything.

The flight took more than seven hours. Shani landed at 1am, Uganda time, "in a light rain with no moon and no stars." The other planes stayed aloft in a holding pattern while Shani brought the big military transport down in a quiet "combat landing".

He stopped, and the commandos jumped out to distribute strings of battery-powered auxiliary landing lights along the runway in case Ugandan airport officials switched off the main lights. "The tower didn't know we landed," says Shani. "The C-130 is a quiet plane, and they didn't expect anything."

He taxied to within 1,000 yards of the old terminal building. The Mercedes, carrying nine commandos including Netanyahu, and the Land Rovers rolled out the back ramp and sprinted toward the terminal.

The Ugandans held their fire.

The commandos "approached the terminal and stormed the building and then they shouted inside in Hebrew and English, 'Everyone lie on the floor!' Everyone did so except the terrorists, of course, and in a very short cross-fire the terrorists were dead."

The other planes had landed, disgorging troops who secured the area, began administering medical care to the wounded and got the hostages aboard a plane.

Then they flew back home, arriving in Israel about 9:45 in the morning on July 4. "Oh, the country was like a madhouse at this time," says Shani. "You could see the snowball of joy getting bigger and bigger."

It was the high point of his military career. "Military missions, it's always a destructive job. To do a military operation to save people, that gives you a real good feeling."

So what was the secret of success? Shani takes a drag on his Marlboro. Simplicity, he says. And luck. And, "It took a lot of chutzpah. You know the meaning of the Jewish word chutzpah?"

[Chutzpah — effrontery, shameless audacity, impudence, "cheek".]

Why Koreans Turn Against The U.S.

Gregory Henderson

FOR 30 years, from the June 25, 1950, outbreak of the Korean War until the late May 1980 Kwangju uprising in southwest Korea, anti-Americanism was about as common in South Korea as fish in trees. We were more than a friend to Seoul, we were THE friend. The world knew no more enthusiastic allies.

Our government, our business circles, our hundreds of thousands of aspiring Korean immigrants and above all our military would believe the same today. But all four main U.S. Information Centers have been torched or invaded or both since 1980, and from among 75,000 students in 300 demonstrations this year come anti-American banners and slogans — and sharply mounting violence.

These student voices are those of a minority, but no longer the tiny minority they were two years ago. A violent anti-Americanism has swelled and continues to gain ground even beyond the campuses. If the escalation of the last two years persists for two more, the present regime and the 1988 Olympic Games, planned in Seoul, will be shaken not by the forces of the North but by those of the South. The American relationship with Seoul will suffer accordingly.

This unrest arises from diverse sources: small but rising corruption, threats of American congressional restraints on Korea's hefty trade inroads and possible (though characteristically exaggerated) communist influence. But it is the political perception of the nature of the U.S. military command over most Korean armed forces that most fires student anger.

As commander in chief of the Joint U.S.-South Korean Command, a four-star American general must give permission whenever a normal Korean combat unit is moved. Coups, which always involve such shifts, either defy the command structure, as in 1961 and 1979, or, when U.S. permission is sought and given, involve American command consent in the bloody suppression of forces seeking democracy, as in 1980 in Kwangju. Even when, as in October 1972, the use of troops to enforce authoritarian constitutional changes was too minor to involve command permission, suspicion of an implied command assent remains.

American command (however qualified) over South Korean armed forces that are deeply implicated in internal Korean politics tarnishes the American name. Attempts to formalize that position only increase the dangers of "commanding" without control. Many Korean students thus perceive the United States as the midwife of the Chun regime's 1979-80 takeover of power and as the continued backer of this "puppet" of our "imperialism." To us as well as to Chun is increasingly ascribed a quarter of a century of repression of democracy within a highly educated nation aspiring to greater freedom.

As anti-militarist sentiment rises, moreover, the annual joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit Exercises" become seen as "the training of military hoodlums" or, more soberly but more dangerously, as the chief roadblock in North-South Korean unification talks.

Both sides have recently further inflamed the situation. The Korean government has used military induction or training as punishment for "unruly" students. Secretary of State George Shultz's public support of the Chun regime during his early May visit to Seoul was not only almost unqualified but was accompanied by criticism of "an opposition which seeks to incite violence" a stance he strengthened by relegating the two chief opposition leaders to a meeting with a subordinate, which was then aborted.

Korean student perceptions do not yet typify Korean public views. These perceptions distort reality: the United States did not welcome or seek to forward Korean coups. Yet American "quiet diplomacy" toward democratization drowns in an increasingly radical and vocal student perception of the unpopular Chun regime as an American puppet. Our Seoul embassy's communication with the student world has reportedly lost all effectiveness.

No one can be sure that Korea will boil over. A booming economy and stock market bespeak confidence. But it is increasingly clear that the present U.S. command structure in Korea is an unwise and possibly unmanageable political liability. Designed to integrate an international war effort and leash the quixotic tendencies of the late President Syngman Rhee, it is now archaic.

It behooves us to limit our forces and command to sophisticated weaponry and air support and to leave all ground troops and their command to the manpower-rich and well-trained Koreans. We should support more openly the lifting of the innumerable legal restraints now enchaining democratic elections in Korea. We should withdraw from an unneeded command position that gives at least the appearance of interference in the Korean political process on the repressive, undemocratic side.

(The writer served as a State Department specialist in Korea for more than seven years.)

The Mystery Of KAL 007

SHOOTDOWN: — Flight 007 and the American connection. By R.W.Johnson. Viking. 335pp. $18.95

By Douglas B. Feaver

THE Soviet shootdown of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on September 1, 1983, has joined the list of unsolved mysteries with an insatiable audience among publishers.

R.W.Johnson's *Shootdown* is at least the fourth English-language book on the subject; there have been numerous articles in learned and not-so-learned journals, and a book from reporter Seymour Hersh is due soon. The word-barrage will doubtless continue as long as it is impossible to say how the Boeing 747 jumbo jet came to be more than 300 miles off course, deep in Soviet territory. When it was shot down, all 269 people on board were killed.

Johnson's hypothesis, oversimplified, is that U.S. foreign policy hardliners led by CIA Director William Casey and National Security Advisor William Clark approved the dispatch of the Korean jet on its strange course to test, among other things, the new Soviet radar array at Krasnoyarsk. That radar is an alleged violation of the unratified SALT II treaty.

Flight 007 was to do nothing so overt as taking pictures, but as a "passive probe" it would trigger Soviet radar and surveillance devices so that U.S. satellites and other electronic intelligence collectors could read capabilities they rarely "see". The United States did not expect the plane to be shot down, the theory continues. When it was, U.S. officials covered their roles with a massive anti-Soviet propaganda effort that included heavy doses of disinformation, all subscribed to by a know-nothing president who thinks of the Soviet Union as an evil empire.

There is little question that the U.S. government has stonewalled on the issue of why the plane wasn't warned that it was off course. It seemed logical, considering what is known about U.S. intelligence-collecting capabilities, that somebody, somewhere in the U.S. government, knew as it was happening that Flight 007 had strayed, even though the plane was beyond the range of civilian air traffic control radar systems. The U.S. response is that information such as radio transmissions of the Soviet fighter pilots used in the vigorous anti-Soviet propaganda effort during the days following the shootdown was collected automatically on tapes, then recovered and translated.

In the absence of a more thorough U.S. explanation, the kind of hokum that is put forth in Johnson's book and several other efforts will never be dispelled. One does have to wonder just how big the national secret is that has to be protected from the news organizations, lawyers and others who have sought additional data. That wondering is what feeds the U.S.-Is-Guilty-Group.

The problem with Johnson's book is not that he exploits this secretiveness on the part of the United States. The problem is that he discredits his thesis with misinformation of his own on points that are easily checked. The reader is put on alert on page 2, when Johnson quotes the International Civil Aviation Organization's report on the accident. ICAO ran several flight simulations with various misprogrammings of navigational computers and concluded that two scenarios would produce approximately the route KAL 007 flew. Others investigating the case have duplicated ICAO's work.

ICAO says that "each of the (simulation) scenarios assumes a considerable degree of lack of attentiveness on the part of the entire flight crew but not to a degree that is unknown in international civil aviation." Johnson limits the quote to the words "a considerable degree of lack of alertness and attentiveness on the part of the whole flight crew". Then Johnson tells us what a great crew Flight 007 had. The effort is to make impossible something that has happened many times, a misprogrammed computer guiding a carelessly monitored flight. Yet that scenario is the generally accepted explanation among non-conspiracy theorists.

Johnson asserts that the National Transportation Safety Board was ordered off the case by the State Department. I know from my own reporting at the time of the accident and from rechecking since that that is garbage. Under an international treaty to which the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and Korea are all signatories, responsibility for the investigation rested with either the Soviets or Koreans, not the safety board, depending on whether the wreckage came down in Soviet or international waters. Safety board representatives participated as observers in the Korean investigation, as is customary, but the United States was shut out of the Soviet investigation.

Johnson also finds highly suspicious the fact that Clark left the White House for the relative peace and quiet of the Interior Department almost immediatly after the shootdown. Reporters covering the White House at the time know that the exhausted Clark had been looking for a way out long before the shootdown and the opportunity presented itself when former Interior Secretary James Watt put his foot in his mouth once too often.

Johnson is a fellow in politics at Oxford University. His book does not replace Alexander Dallin's effort, *Black Box*, as the fairest, most accurate and by far the most readable serious treatment to date of the mystery surrounding Flight 007.

Route of Flight 007, a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747, from New York to Seoul. After its stop at Anchorage, the plane was carrying 269 passengers and crew members.

During the last radio contact at 3:23 a.m. Thursday (2:23 p.m. EDT, Wednesday) the Korean Air Lines pilot routinely reported he had increased his altitude to 35,000 feet.

Intercontinental and regional missile bases located near here.

SOVIET UNION · CHINA · JAPAN · SOUTH KOREA · NORTH KOREA · ALASKA · Anchorage · Pacific Ocean · Bering Sea · Kamchatka Peninsula · Petropavlovsk Kamchatskiy · Sea of Okhotsk · Sakhalin Island · Kuril Islands · PRESUMED ACTUAL FLIGHT PATH · PLANNED FLIGHT PATH · ENLARGED AREA · Vladivostok · Hokkaido · Sea of Japan · Pyongyang · Seoul · Tokyo · Yellow Sea · East China Sea · Presumed Crash Site · Moneron Island · Yuzhno Sakhalinsk · Sapporo

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Somewhere to sit down

By Ralph Whitlock

PARTIAL though I am to conversation with my great-grandfather, whom I meet from time to time under the old apple-tree where once his cider-press stood, it would be a mistake to suppose that he is the only one of my deceased relatives with whom I have close affinities. Aunt Polly, for instance, has been in my thoughts lately.

When I was a small boy she kept the village shop — the first shop, I believe, ever to exist in our small village. Before her bold innovation, villagers had to rely on occasional pedlars or on twice-yearly excursions to the town (2½ hours distant by carrier's cart), at Easter and Fair Day, for the relatively few commodities, such as Easter bonnets and chemises, which they themselves could not produce.

Aunt Polly (who may not have been my real aunt, but no matter; everyone in our village seemed to be related) lived with her two brothers and an invalid sister and began shop-keeping when the more enterprising of the brothers set up a village bakery. That may have been a new departure, too, for there was a strong tradition of home-baking. I gather that most of the family gave a hand with the baking in the early morning, after which Uriah delivered bread by pony-and-cart to outlying farms and hamlets, Walter trundled a covered barrow around the village, and Polly dispensed loaves to calling customers from her front room.

In due course, the front room became equipped with counter and store shelves, as Aunt Polly widened her range of stock. She could supply candles, paraffin, tea, soap (yellow or Lifebuoy), loaf sugar, matches, black lead, boot polish, pegs and sweets kept in big glass jars in full sunlight.

One of my abiding memories is of going into Aunt Polly's shop for a ha'peth of pear-drops and watching her bite a sweet in half to get the exact weight! The other half went back in the jar. There was, of course, no reason for her to stock eggs, butter and potatoes (you got those from the farms), or boots and boot-laces (they came from the cobbler), or mouse-traps (old Billy Medcalf made a type that were more effective than any I have been able to buy since).

It was all very basic and primitive, but I have recently had reason to reflect that in one respect it was streets ahead of the stores and supermarkets of 1986. It had a chair for customers to sit on. It is true that Aunt Polly's shop seldom had more than one customer at a time, but that gave a welcome opportunity for a helpful little gossip. Aunt Polly had a chair on her side of the counter, too.

Thursdays are our usual shopping day, but the other week when Thursday came round I was in some agony with fibrositis or sciatica or something of the sort — something I had never experienced before and don't want to encounter again. With my wife still somewhat incapacitated by her traumatic illness of two years ago I need to attend her on these shopping expeditions as chauffeur, guide-dog and beast of burden.

I rather enjoy indulging myself extravagantly at the food shelves, but in the departments which sell detergents, household goods, cosmetics and kitchen rolls I am bored. (Other husbands, like myself, must have been amazed, amused and finally bemused by the time necessary for buying tights, shampoo of the right mixture, and matching refills for cosmetics!)

And this is when the absence of chairs in modern emporia came painfully to my notice. Here was a new supermarket, covering it seemed to me about six acres, and never a chair, bench or stool for the benefit of weary customers. Even mediaeval monastic churches, addicted though they were to inflicting penance on the flesh, provided misericords for leg-weary choristers to perch on.

But our supermarket designers are made of sterner stuff. Banks and libraries pander to our weaknesses, some of them even to the extent of supplying upholstered easy chairs, but the staff of supermarkets eye you with disapproval if, in default of anything else, you sit on the stairs.

I sat on the stairs while my wife debated with herself about packets of tights, all of which looked exactly the same to me. A mum with a child in a pushchair sank wearily on the step below. "They put all the everyday household things upstairs," she lamented. She even accepted my offer to look after the child while she went up higher, though perhaps I don't look like a kidnapper!

"I just can't do it," said an elderly sufferer, joining us on the stairs. "I have a bit of a rest and then go elsewhere. It's another of these American ideas, isn't it?"

And that's the odd thing about it all. Supermarkets are, I believe, an American idea, but virtually every American and Canadian supermarket I have ever patronised has those basic facilities which ours lack. They have coffee shops or restaurants; and well-equipped toilets where a baby's nappy can be changed; and a trolley park where the shopping can be left until the shopper is ready to go to the car.

Where the stores are on more than one level escalators are universal, but if they were not I feel sure that assistants would be on hand to help mothers with push-chairs upstairs. The only way you can attract the attention of staff in a British supermarket is to try a bit of ostentatious shop-lifting.

Come back, Aunt Polly, you would be welcome to half my pear-drop in return for a hard-bottomed chair to take the weight off my feet.

There is one remedy for these glaring deficiencies in service to the customer. It is a planning application for a new hypermarket. Hypermarkets have a reputation for providing all the missing amenities, including a spacious car park, well outside the town limits.

At the very hint of a new one coming their way, all the town traders unite in a protest campaign. They argue, rightly, that if the plans come to fruition they stand to lose customers. And serve them right. They should look after their customers better, while they still have them. Even to the extent of offering them a few chairs.

Mystery and imagination

Waldemar Januszczak at the Venice Biennale

THE good news for Britain from the 42nd Venice Biennale is that Frank Auerbach has won the Golden Lion as the best artist, and that George Ripperly has been given an important role in the Biennale's main theme show.

I do not imagine that Ripperly ever believed he was going to find himself at Venice. To begin with he is far too old, being a 17th century English alchemist whose masterwork is a 15ft long Emblematic Scrawle covered in vomiting dragons and defecating frogs.

What is Rippely doing in the world's most famous modern art event? He is involved in an exhibition called Art and Alchemy, one of the series of quasi-scientific exhibitions that are supplying this year's show with its overriding theme: Art and Science.

One of the few immutable laws at an event which always seems to be changing its regulations (prize-giving has been brought back this year for the first time since it was stopped by student unrest in 1968) is that whatever seems to be going on in contemporary Italian art the corresponding Venice Biennale will somehow find an historical exhibition to legitimate the activities of those young artists.

Last time out the main theme, Art About Art, corresponded perfectly with the endless quotations from the past employed by Italian pseudo-Mannerists. This year the prevailing style is Neo-Surrealism: a typical young Italian picture of today will show a skull that turns into a snake which bursts into flames in a landscape made of lizard skin, the whole littered with numbers arranged, of course, in the Fibonacci Sequence (where each number is the sum of the preceding two, e.g. 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13 . . . etc.) Mystery, uncertainty and mutation are the main currency of today's art.

The Art and Alchemy exhibition is a huge, fertile mess made up of old art, new art, painting, installation, sculpture, all arranged according to an alchemical system which I am afraid defied this particular mind's attempts to follow.

The Aim: Reconciliation of Opposites, is the title of a section which does indeed manage to include a pornographic drawing of Felicien Rops, some steel plates by Carl Andre, and comic-book characters by American Graffiti painters. The Means: Love is Knowledge, is more legible, being packed with fine nudes by Picasso, Giacometti, Delvaux, Dali. The most important section seemed to be entitled The Path: Knowledge is Freedom. I could not tell where it started and the rest of the show finished.

Art and Alchemy's main contention is that the artist and the alchemist are one and the same thing. The work of art is a crucible in which anything can happen. Opposites can be reconciled. Base metals can be turned into metaphorical gold. In other words the artist, like the alchemist, is a mini-god with the power of creation in his hands. Having counted no less than seven pictures in the show entitled Metamorphosis, I gave up and returned to my revolutionary view that the artist is no more and no less than a sensitive human being with the ability to isolate, discuss and communicate human issues.

Art as a kind of magic is also the subject of an intriguing adjacent show called Wunderkammer, a Cabinet of Curiosities, or a Museum of Strangeness. In the Venetian Wunderkammer turtles fly from the ceiling, apples and pears turn into portraits of human beings, exorcised devils sit trapped in tiny crystal bottles, motor bikes grow horns.

Elsewhere the relationship between Art and Science becomes much more strained. Art and Biology contains a portrait of Marilyn Monroe made out of different coloured foetus-like objects arranged in bottles. Science For Art is housed in the Accademia Gallery and is basically a giant advertisement for the Olivetti personal computer which is seen everywhere in front of Giorgione, Tintoretto, Titians and Veroneses, buzzing, whirring, analysing data, and generally getting in the way of the paintings.

Out in its gardens among the national pavilions, away from monstrosities in test-tubes and yapping computers, the Biennale returns to normal. The Egyptians are still showing extensive collections of businessmen's nick-knacks. The East Germans are once again putting the naked human figure through all kinds of physical indignities. The American Pavilion is a mess; the Cuban is an explosion of fierce figurative anti-American politics.

Back at the turn of the century, when the Biennale started up, the three main colonial powers, Britain, Germany and France, grabbed the three most imposing pavilions. Ostentatious and neo-classical, they still sit perched on a hill together and still share out the main prizes among themselves.

In the French Pavilion, Daniel Buren has won the award for the best presentation. Buren has resorted to his usual deckchair stripes, articulating walls and ceilings, turning the pavilion into a piece of minimal sculpture. I am not usually an admirer of his work but here he has indeed imposed a cool, fresh geometry on the place, and the eventual effect is like gently coloured Palladianism.

Auerbach shares the best artist prize with the German, Sigmar Polke. Polke too has made an installation out of the entire pavilion, involving different paintings in different styles and scales, crystals, rocks and sculpture. Creation would be the best word to describe his theme. Messy would be the best word to describe the results, as huge, billowing paintings go in search of that vague and gassy energy which preceded the Big Bang.

The work can be beautiful but only in details — a mountain scene as broad and free-flowing as a Japanese reed-pen drawing, a sumptuous purple abstract covered in squares of gold leaf. This particular artist-as-alchemist has thrown too many ingredients into the cauldron, and they refuse to form a whole. Auerbach on the other hand is a model of hard-working, decisive investigation of themes. These he has pared down to two: the human figure and views of the landscape on his way to the studio.

His early portraits are so thick with pigment that they flutter between painting and relief; the likenesses of the sitters are buried deep inside, and have to be mined for. In his recent landscapes the paint is thinner and quicker, full of the most audacious colours and summaries of shapes. Who would have thought that the brooding portraitist who begins the show would end it as a master of yellows, as surprising as a field of rape, and reds, as exhilarating as a poppy.

For me the exhibition confirms Auerbach's status as the greatest English painter, more substantial than Freud and less glib than Bacon.

While there is much of interest buried among the toads and computers of the Art and Science shows, and the standard of the national pavilions is distinctly high, the Biennale's major diappointment is its Aperto section for artists under 40, Venice's main talent spotting show.

This year's Aperto is smaller than before and lacks any coherent groups of artists to match the Graffitti boys of 1984 and the neo-classicists of '82.

John Murphy's rather sad fragments of Raphael drawings trapped in gentle abstract planes, like flies in amber, are too sensitive for the hurly-burly. I had previously thought of Lisa Milroy's still-lives as softly-spoken, but her collections of melons and Roman coins arranged for inspection are as assertive as billboards.

The major British success of the Aperto was Boyd Webb, whose photographic tableaux plays such impish games with the laws of physics. Webb has become something of a colourist, providing a sweeping green earth out of which grows a sheaf of golden corn and a white sprig of musical score. Elsewhere the suspended earth has been peeled like an orange, a kiss-curl of its peel crowning a Cycladic head hanging in space.

Mystery and uncertainty . . . all over the Biennale you can hear the clanging of axes as human heads are grafted onto animal bodies, and the rush of fire as toad's legs, sulphur and crucifixes are thrown into the alchemist's crucible. With Boyd Webb's art you can barely distinguish the swish of the surgeon's knife as it makes it subtle incisions into reality.

The Venice Biennale until September 28.

LETTER

Kokoschka denied justice

"Times seem perfect for a reassessment of Kokoschka's career," but your bilious Mr Januszczak is clearly not the writer to make it (June 22).

In a half-page devoted mostly to vapid gossip about Kokoschka's life, plus a few dismissive comments on unrepresentative paintings, Mr Januszczak performs the startling feat of ignoring altogether the chief glory of Kokoschka's *oeuvre* — the marvellous city portraits and other landscapes, between 1910 and 1980.

This omission allows Januszczak to conclude that Kokoschka produced "many interesting paintings but no masterpieces."

"No masterpieces?" Not the Tate Polperro (1942), the Great Thames View (1926), the superb Jerusalem (1928), the Prague paintings (1935-38), the Hamburg Harbour (1951), Manhattan (1979), and countless others? Or, in figure-studies, not the Tempest (1913), Knight-Errant (1915), the Power of Music (1926) and many others?

Mr Januszczak's guidelines about Kokoschka's portraits ("Kokoschka was drawn irresistibly to dirt and disease") is amply exposed and refuted by the glowing paintings of Lotte Frauzos, Auguste Fokel and the Tietzes, in the Vienna period, and those of Masaryk, Casals, Maisky and Stanley Unwin later on.

I can only hope that his jaundiced views do not keep a single visitor from seeing the works of a very great and enduring 20th Century artist at the Tate.

Alfred H. Katz,
Los Angeles, California.

Fidelio betrayed

THIS is Colin Davis signing off as Covent Garden's MD. And how! His new Fidelio, the last production Davis is launching in 15 disappointing years, is a catastrophe. Andrei Serban's staging, which I found passable though frenetic and overloaded in the first act, took a nose dive during the interval, culminating in a farcical Gillray-caricature-like charade for the last scene that provoked hoots of derision when a black-winged Beelzebub on stilts enclosed the guilty Pizarro in its wings. This certainly was the funniest Fidelio I've seen.

Unfortunately, Davis opted to meet the incompetent and fitful sequence of tableaux from which Serban constructed the second-act staging by slowing what was already a sombre, stolid, very teutonic but persuasive interpretation to snail's pace, playing for seriousness. And he insisted — in mistaken deference to Beethoven's musical genius, and disregarding the composer's careful dramatic revisions — on inserting the Leonore III overture in the middle of the second act, giving Serban the opportunity for the lamest, most futile, and repetitive mime of the story in front of the giant cut-out of Beethoven's death mask. (In fact Davis conducted this misplaced overture very beautifully, almost serenely, despite what was happening on stage, and the orchestra played it superbly.)

Otherwise, the second act plodded on its weary way at a pace that allowed the chorus not only time to breathe in their joyous terminal paeans (something Beethhoven scarcely considered necessary) but time to giggle at the farrago in which they were involved.

The tragedy is that in choosing Fidelio for his farewell Davis was opting for a work he loves and — as an interpreter — well s. The first act was lovingly cond, every detail of orchestration dra out like a treasured relic, and the orchestra (whose quality Davis has during his tenure maintained and improved) responded strongly.

Davis's pace was, I think, a good deal more deliberate than the last revival he conducted here of the work. If anybody doubted his credentials they would surely have marvelled at his management of the duet between Rocco and Pizarro, perfectly structured by Davis, its dramatic intention ideally realised.

But at the dramatic heart of the work, the great ritual of Leonore's self-sacrificial gesture seemed beyond Davis's power to rescue, becalmed by the sheer incompetence and tedium of Serban's staging.

On paper this looked an encouraging and congratulations are those performers (like Lauridale as Jaquino, Marie McL as Marzelline and Gwyllowell as Rocco) who tried mbine musical vitality in singing with nervous jump uring of the domestic scene rban's realisation.

Serave an impression of fluenand determination, charging Jaquino with more sympand clarity than usual. But I was a diversionary extraice of means for the perforto contend with, flown in anjages of hope, cages full of mof prisoners.

Jokie Jaquino finding his door ed in the square grey brick rame as unpretentious relief as prepared to tolerate the opnistic use of bald wigs and cilids with the prisoners, thougdignified and phony, as an acble exploitation of modern Gin stage cliches. But it was thelements that swamped the neic domestic vision which Serbarted.

Theias excellent work done from Fnut Welker, as a Pizarro forevershing his hands from a little t bottle in his breast pocketilker sings the impossible pairy well, though he is a bit ligon the bottom notes. James g as Florestan, though a veteran sounded impressive enough not very heroic. Of all the chters he was the most disturby the disastrous staging since only features in the appallirand ignominious second act.

The n vocal problem with the show ishe casting of Elizabeth Connell's Leonore. Though she has goopatches and some lovely top note, Miss onnell tends to sound lite-girlish as if pushing her voice through pipe. And she lacks body in her one, especially at the bottom wher she inclined to a kind of speech nging. Really this is a very long ay from the dominating performice that the part quires.

Mute musical joys hen, and a staging th descendeo inanity, with visual ference cancelling each other out going different directions. It was as if ban had lost his way complete and in total panic was trying every trick he knew, and sting in undigested every possibl notion about the politics of the ag about the spiritual naivety of th composer (which some peopl find echoes Blake), and about mern staging style, that had com up during a half forgotten ser ar with the designer Sally Jacs. What a waste of Jean Sainsbury's money. Scrap the show.

Tom Sutcliffe at Covent Garden

A devil in the heart

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

CLAUDE MILLER, the French director, has never realy sustained the promise of his first two features — The Best Way To Walk and This Sweet Sickness, both of which were shown here. He has, in fact, only made three other films in a decade. But fortunately the fifth is An Impudent Girl which has proved both a commercial and critical success.

The film is an odd mixture, looking at times like a fairly crass French pot-boiler, what with its absurd picture frame ending and the slurpy theme tune. But often it gets to grips quite charmingly with its main theme of tribulations of adolesence. The best of it is so good that the dross comes as a most unpleasent surprise.

The impudent girl is Charlotte, a 13-year-old who can't wait to grow up, suddenly finding her own little world insufficient. She hates her provincial life and visits her spleen on everyone around her, including her long-suffering stepmother and Lulu, faithful but still childlike friend. When a young musical prodigy comes to town, she is riveted with admiration, even though the prodigy clearly needs a boot on the bum and isn't about to get it from the sycophants and hangers-on around her.

The child in Charlotte fantasises about becoming the musician's manager, latching on to the loneliness of the long-distance careerist. The adult in her discovers that it is only a fantasy which she has to step over to grow up and besides, true friends are those who stick by you.

The revelation of the film lies in its shrewd observation of provincial French family life and, most of all, in the amazingly truthful performance of Charlotte Gainsbourg who took the part in her school holidays. Don't expect a Hollywood child but a real one, with a devil on one shoulder and an angel on the other, like most recalcitrant pubescents.

The film has been compared to a Carson MacCullers story and it certainly has the same edge and irony that MacCullers sought and usually found.

Excellent performances too from Bernadette Lafont as the stepmother, and Julie Glenn who equals Gainsbourg as Lulu. The charm, by the way, is not of the ingratiating kind but seems to be born of real experience. What a pity Miller has been persuaded to gild the lily here and there. The film simply does not need it.

If you watch Kim Basinger's performance in Fool For Love you will not recognise the edgy performance of Adrian Lyne's 9½ Weeks. She is a whole class better for Robert Altman, who asks her to expose not her body but her talent in his imaginative if uneven adaptation of Sam Shepard's play.

She has Shepard himself opposite her rather than Mickey Rourke, which is in itself an improvement. But it is essentially a matter of a director instinctively knowing how far he can go with an actress, and then using her talent to the full in a series of tightly shot and edited scenes. The acting, perhaps, is the best part of the otherwise slightly theatrical adaptation.

Once again, as he determined with Jimmy Dean, Streamers, and the extraordinary Nixon film, Secret Honour, Altman makes little attempt to open the play out, which is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage because the piece has thus survived on its own merits, and a disadvantage because in this case it never quite does so, needing something extra on the screen which doesn't materialise.

The only real change is the introduction of Harry Dean Stanton's drunken father as a kind of Banquo's Ghost, almost commenting on the story as it goes along and, because it is Stanton, with some style. This time round he is the link with everything as the lonely girl at the broken down gas station fights fate for the man she loves. Her lover is the same kind of existentialist loner we've seen before in pretentious American movies. But this time I don't find much to cavil about.

It is actually about simple people striving to contain themselves in a very complicated world where things are never quite what they seem, and Altman's straight-on approach emphasises that fact to some effect.

Even though far from perfect, Fool For Love, which also has a marvellous cameo from Randy Quaid as the outsider who steps into the relationship and gets stung, is about twice as gripping as your average American movie. And, for myself at least, a real pleasure.

Bubbles and peaks

TELEVISION by Nancy Banks-Smith

HAVE a glass of champagne and a slice of sponge cake, do.

In 1871 the rather aptly named Lucy Walker, an Englishwoman, was the first woman to climb the Matterhorn. She trained in a crinoline whose only obvious advantage is that if you fall you may float. By the time she climbed the Matterhorn the fashion was for petticoats, pantaloons, bustles and whalebone stays.

Mrs Walker, having failed to deflect her daughter, insisted she took some champagne and sponge cake up the mountain for altitude sickness, which makes it all the more remarkable that Lucy managed to keep her footing. My grandmother, like many Victorians, believed champagne was medicinal and kept a bottle for energencies. I can't swear it made you better but it made you feel better.

A Dangerous Kind of Love (BBC 2), written by Fay Weldon and produced by Colin Goodman, had exactly this quality. Lightness, sparkle and lift. It was, for one thing, lovely to look at. The old white rhino of a mountain frozen in ice, only its snowy horn showing and, as Lucy, Jenny Seagrove whose face lights up and shines as if she had stuck her toe in an electric socket.

The entertaining Walkers, happily based, I am sure, on the Bennets of Pride and Prejuidice, were one of those rare families with whom you would happily spend a holiday, even allowing for the cook they employed out of kindness because no-one else would. Her Brown Windsor may have been primeval soup for it seemed to have things growing in it.

This is Lucy's Mr Bennet-like father: "It is a very bad notion to show a young man you are clever," and her Mr Collins-like fiance: "She will bleed from every orifice. It is dreadful to envisage." My only complaint is that Lucy Walker, who may or may not have been beautiful and charming was certainly high-spirited and financially secure, would have turned down such a suiter down like a bedspread. It is a pity that Miss Weldon gave him nothing between the ears but his nose ("Only yesterday one of my patients remarked she had never seen so straight a nose") for it reflects on Lucy's intelligence.

It is a bit of bad of luck that this exhilarating feminine fizz, being one of three plays about climbers, should have gone out under the generic title Mountain Men.

There seems to be a rollicking bad taste and tarara-boom-de-ay about Australia which defeats all attempts to produce a bland soap opera. Like a gaiety girl trying to move in the best circles, gusto keeps busting in.

Consider Dennis in Return to Eden (ITV), the son and heir of Steff Harper, "the richest woman in the world." Dennis seems a bit on the short side so his trousers wrinkle around his ankles. His number plate is 4 PLAY and his underpants are purple, we know this because he is caught in flagrante with a fan dancer.

Dennis is a particular favourite of mine because (as with many men called Dennis oddly enough) people keep telling him to shut up. "Shut up, Dennis. . . . Dennis, will you shut up." When all else fails, they hit him with a handbag. He is lured without difficulty to a low dive and photographed, as Jake the villain puts it, "dancing with a feather duster." The richest woman in the world (who is the only woman to inspect a blast furnace wearing a fur coat) scythes down Jake with icy disdain: "It is obvious I am dealing with a sewer rat."

You would be watching Return to Eden for a some time before the word sophisticated occurred to you. And before you realised your mouth was hanging open.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD England.

A man's war of liberation

THEATRE by Michael Billington

ROBERT HOLMAN has always shown a greater gift for atmosphere and dialogue than for dramatic structure. So it was a bright idea of the Bush to commission him to write three short loosely-lined plays which all revolve around brief encounters shattered by war. The three plays are uneven in impact but the collective title, Making Noise Quietly, offers a good definition of Holman's effort which is oblique, gentle, understated but which often has a depth charge effect.

I found the first play, Being Friends, easily the most riveting. Two young men meet in a Kentish field in July 1944. One, a Quaker conchy working on a local farm, is sexually and morally insecure: the other, bright, gifted and homosexual, has a novel due out in autumn, an exhibition at the Whitechapel and is illustrating the signs of the Zodiac for Vogue. As in his RSC play, Today, Holman pins down beautifully the growth of tentative friendship between men of different backgrounds and the inquisitive envy of the repressed, puritan Northerner for the Bohemian freedom of the privileged Southerner.

But Holman's virtue is that he puts people first, messages second, and it is fascinating how the Quaker's buried urge to enlist only surfaces through contact with a liberated spirit. John Dove's production is lyrically precise and excellently played by Jonathan Cullen as the shy pacifist and Ronan Vibert as the exuberant artist.

In the play, Mr Holman implies that the moral clarity of the last war led to the revelation of real feeling: in the next play, Lost, he suggests that the moral muddiness of the Falklands conflict fostered hypocrisy. But again, he does this through character rather than statement. We are in Redcar in June, 1982 and a mother learns from a visiting naval officer that her son has been killed on the Glamorgan. She pours out all her piled up resentment of her son who she has not seen for five years and whose educated brilliance has clearly turned him into a horrifying snob. But Mr Holman saves his knockout punch to the end with a suggestion that we dare not admit, that our Falklands heroes died in a dubious cause. Well-played by Jean Boht and Jonathan Coy, this play makes a lot of noise quietly.

Oddly enough, the title play is the least satisfying: it makes noise glamorously and presents a situation that seemed invented rather the inevitable. We are in the Black Forest in August 1986 and find a cultivated German-Jewish fabrics manufacturer trying to cope with a runaway autistic child and the brutish strap wielding Yorkshire private soldier who is surrogate father to the boy. Somewhere underneath it is lurking, I suspect, a point about the need for mutual forgiveness which the woman, a victim of the camps, has obviously learned.

Helen Ryan, Paul Copley and Daniel Kipling play the piece with total conviction and I have no complaint about Mr Dove's direction or Kenny Miller's permanant woodland surrounding. But Mr Holman, a brilliant quietest, loses control when he shouts at us about love, hate and compassion.

Pasternak rehabilitated

By Martin Walker in Moscow

BORIS PASTERNAK, who was expelled by the Soviet Writers' Union 30 years ago after the publication of Dr Zhivago in the West, is to be honoured with a museum and a literary commission which will seek to publish all his works.

The news was announced last week when nine of the Soviet Union's best known writers held a press conference to make this dramatic announcement and celebrate the shake up in Soviet letters that emerged in the course of the eighth congress of the Writers' Union.

They recounted how some of the more daring and controversial poets and writers who had been deemed unsuitable by the authorities to attend the congress even as delegates had been elected by acclamation to the union's controlling body.

They also defined the new limits of censorship, following the demise of Glavit, the state's censorship board, after its 67-year reign. "Censorship exists in literature, designed to secure constitutional rights, to ban pornography, war propaganda, racialism and to protect military secrets," Vitaly Korotich, an essayist from the Ukraine and one of the newly elected secretaries of the union, explained.

"But the function of censorship stops there. It should not interfere in the literary process," he said. "And Dr Zhivago and the other works of Pasternak are hardly revolutionary and it is quite logical to publish them."

Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who campaigned hardest for the posthumous honouring of Pasternak, announced that the Writers' Union would henceforth "try to use our own power to defend books of our comrades and brothers against the bureaucracy."

He also announced that Bella Akhmadulina, Bulat Okudjava, and Yuri Chernichenko had been elected to the union's praesidium.

Akhamadulina had been a contributor to the banned magazine Metropol in 1979, and many of Okudjava's satirical ballads are still to be heard only on underground tape recordings.

Valantin Rasputin, the Siberian novelist who had led the ecological campaign to close the factories which are polluting Lake Baikal, and had also campaigned against the project to reverse the flow of Siberian Rivers, put the new mood in the Writers' Union into the context of a wider and more fundamental social change.

"Five years ago it would have been dangerous to even suggest the idea of a popular referendum on the question of Lake Baikal," he said. "But today, such a plebiscite is a possibility and I believe a majority would vote to close the factories."

"The last 18 months has changed the social situation drastically," he said. "The Russian people have not always been active enough as citizens, but now there is growing civic activity on ecology on the whole. The press now supports us completely, which they did not three years ago."

The press conference was unusual in that it featured only writers, without the array of cultural bureaucrats who like to control such events. Thanks to Yevtushenko, there was an almost gleeful mood on the platform.

"This last writers' congress gave us all the greatest satisfaction of any of the congresses we have attended," said the Kirghiz writer, Ginhiz Aitmatov. "It was a time of acute discussion and sharp polemic, with conservative manifestations confronted by new ideas."

There were two people missing from the press conference who in justice, perhaps, should have been there. The first was the secretary of the Writers' Union, Vladimir Karpov, the first former inmate of Stalin's prison camps to rise to such a position.

The second, according to the writers' gossip, was Raisa Gorbachev, the wife of the Soviet leader. Her influence behind the scenes has played a major part, according to several writers, in ensuring the publication of hitherto banned writers.

A view of Scotland

By Tom Nairn

A CENTURY OF THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE, 1830-1950, by T. C. Smout (Collins, £15).

THE History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (1969), Professor Smout's earlier book, has long been the most widely-read and popular of general Scottish histories. But though his new book ventures across the great divide into modern times, its very title disclaims that continuity many will look for. This is less a history than a highly guided excursion towards the contemporary, and the tour-guide's principle of selection is clearly indicated in his introduction.

"It is an exploration of that complex world of deprivation and social division: it aims to show what life was like for most Scottish people . . ."

— without, he immediately adds, much about the intellectuals, culture, politics or the emigres.

As a consequence Smout has to "dwell excessively upon the dark exterior of life," in a kind of litany of Caledonia's notorious urban squalor, "compounded of drink abuse, bad housing, low wages, long hours and sham education."

Among the Scots, licking of wounds is second only to football as a national sport, ecstasy occurring when the two activities merge (as they often do) into one. So Smout's approach is certain to be popular there — all the more so for his easy style, quiet humour and mastery of detail. In both narrative power and range of example he gives us traditional "social history" (or "history with the politics left out") at its most impressive.

This is no mere critical gesture: I was personally most impressed by his masterly dissipation of one special childhood mystery that had always bothered me. In the 1940s parents were sometimes overheard speaking with darkly satisfied opprobrium about "the Goths" of our mining hinterland in a way which both intimated inquiry and mysteriously compounded drunkenness, the lower orders and the collapse of Roman civilisation.

At last I know what was meant: the extra-dour municipal pubs run on the so-called Gothenburg system to discourage consumption, by teetotal licencees who "walked behind the bar, sometimes stopping to serve a glass of liquor but devoting most of their time to scrutinising the patrons." The miners didn't like them.

Plenty of other readers will enjoy similar reactions. And yet it is the book's very success on that plane which cannot help posing serious questions, both about social history and this particular verdict on modern Scottish society. Although it deals with the same subject-matter, "History from below" has of course a different ideological nerve to it: vindication and redemption of the oppressed.

Smout's liberal judgment from above (which to his credit he doesn't try to conceal) is by contrast a mixture of pity and final puzzlement about "how little one of the top two or three richest countries in the world did for its citizens until well on into the twentieth century."

This overview is farther clouded by persistent nagging about Marxism: there are recurrent mentions of other lands where class harmony has accomplished more for their citizens than Scotland's dour confrontation of classes.

But as he himself knows very well, like is hardly being compared to like in such judgments. As a stateless country without "citizens", Scotland could do nothing for them in the relevant sense: that was part of the Union bargain. Instead, the Scots suffered from their famous autonomous institutions, Kirk, Education, and the Law. Smout devotes chapters to the first two of these; but the lawyers have escaped censure, presumably because the working-class was less directly exposed to their operations.

However brilliant, popular "social history" thus re-poses national and political questions. But the answers to these might in turn suggest quite a different social history.

Smout points out how strong both religion and Edinburgh's Enlightenment were in forming the popular political culture which supported first Gladstonian Liberalism and then a Labourism that "had nothing whatever to do with participatory democracy, enthusiasm for socialism or hope for the future". But the dire results are less astonishing, if one reflects that the shared feature of these twin formative influences was anti-politicism: both pre-dated (and in Scotland, pre-empted) politics in the significant modern sense of democratic-national initiative "from below".

Some years after Professor Smout's chosen period, their final gift was what, until then, many would believe a contradiction in terms: the apolitical nationalism of the SNP.

If this is the real dark interior — pre-political paralysis, a democratic-national identity still in formation (and hobbled by the Unionist rules) — then Smout's grim exterior at once appears less of a fatality. And indeed, we should note that his starting date of 1830 (always a watershed for historians) has a primarily political meaning: the point at which the UK's Old Regime could reform itself and endure without a political revolution.

The Victorian miseries portrayed here can be seen as a provincial part of that endurance and its cost, as well as merely the by-product of an insufficiently liberal outlook or of an historical overdose of "class".

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

HUGH KELSEY is one of the top Scottish players and a celebrated bridge writer, and I like his two paperbacks, Test your Pairs Play, and Test Your Defensive Play (Gollancz, £2.95 each). Here are two examples taken from the books. On the first, South deals at love all.

NORTH
Dummy
♠ Q 10 9 5 3
♥ K Q
♦ A Q 6 3
♣ 8 4

SOUTH
Declarer
♠ —
♥ A J 10 4
♦ K 7 5 2
♣ A K Q 6 2

South	West	North	East
1C	NB	1S	NB
2D	NB	2H	NB
3H	NB	5D	NB
6D	NB	NB	NB

West leads the ace of spades, ruffed in the closed hand. How should South continue.

The average declarer would probably act quite quickly, for it all looks so easy against reasonable breaks. However, the true expert tries to provide for every possible pitfall. Since South's trumps have been shortened at trick one, he cannot afford to lose control of the trump suit. Hugh Kelsey therefore suggests, quite correctly, that the best way of ensuring the slam contract is to duck a diamond at the second trick. No matter what the defenders return, South can arrange to ruff a second spade in the closed hand before drawing the outstanding trumps, and he will therefore come to four hearts, three top trumps, two spade ruffs and three clubs to chalk up his excellent slam contract.

The East-West hands are as follows:

WEST
♠ A K 7 6
♥ 8 7 3
♦ J 9 8 4
♣ 9 5

EAST
♠ J 8 4 2
♥ 9 6 5 2
♦ 10
♣ J 10 7 3

The defensive problem which particularly appealed to me was the following, dealt by North at game all.

EAST
Dummy
♠ 9 8 5
♥ 9 3
♦ 6 5
♣ K Q 8 6 3 2

SOUTH
♠ A Q 6 4 3
♥ J 5
♦ J 10 8
♣ A 7 5

South	West	North	East
		NB	NB
1S	Double	NB	2C
NB	2NT	NB	3NT
NB	NB	NB	

North leads the three of diamonds against 3NT, and South's ten holds the trick. South continues with the jack of diamonds, which also holds and on which North follows with the two. What should South play at trick three?

Kelsey's solution is obvious — but only when it is pointed out. He suggests that South should switch to a club, playing for the declarer to hold a doubleton in the suit. West can win in dummy and play a spade, but South can go up with the ace, cash the ace of clubs and exit with a diamond, making sure that he will eventually come to a second spade trick to defeat the contract.

The full deal is as follows:

NORTH
♠ 7 2
♥ 8 7 6 2
♦ K Q 7 3 2
♣ 9 4

WEST
♠ K J 10
♥ A K Q 10 4
♦ A 9 4
♣ J 10

EAST
♠ 9 8 5
♥ 9 3
♦ 6 5
♣ K Q 3 2

SOUTH
♠ A Q 6 4 3
♥ J 5
♦ J 10 8
♣ A 7 5

If South fails to switch to a club at trick three, West can make the contract by means of a neat endplay. If for example, South exits with his third diamond, declarer wins with the ace, cashes three rounds of hearts and plays a club to dummy's queen. South must duck and West continues with a spade to the ten, which holds. He then exits by laying the jack of clubs to dummy's king, forcing South to win with the ace and concede the contract by giving West a second spade trick.

wondered ... wrong. It was

Chess By Leonard Barden

No. 1914

White mates in two moves, against any defence (by A. van der Ven). Though only a two-mover, this problem often defeats even strong solvers for an hour or more.

Solution No. 1913:
White K at QR2, Q at K2, R at KN7, B at KN5, N at KB3, Ps at QR3, QN2, QB4, Q4 and KR2. Black K at QB1, Q at KR6, R at KB1, B at QB2, N at KR4, Ps at QR3, QN2, QB3, K3, KB4 and KB2. What should white play.

1 RxP! RxR 2 QxP ch R-Q2 (K-N1 3 Q-K8 ch K-R2 4 QxR) 3 N-K5! BxN 4 Q-K8 ch forces perpetual check.

CHEQUERS, the London coffee house which stages regular one-day and weekend tournaments, has established its own weekly magazine with up-to-the date games from the latest international events. Chequers Chess, now its twelfth issue, is edited by former British champion Bob Wade, and looks specially useful for strong players or improving juniors. Recent issues include all the games of the Kasparov-Miles match, reports on Brussels, Bugojno and the USSR championship, and analysis of current openings. Specimen copies are £1, a monthly subscription £4.

Proprietor Aly Amin is fast establishing Chequers as a chess haunt in the tradition of the old Gambit cafe near Cannon Street which was demolished by property developers. You can visit the restaurant at 18 Chalk Farm Road, London NW1 (485 1696) for a meal, a friendly game, or for their next tournaments — all night on 18-19 July, one-day on 25 July.

From the Chequers rating tournament, a pioneering event under new FIDE rules allowing games at one hour each for all moves to count for world rankings:

Byron Jacobs (England) — M Kirszenberg (France)
Centre Counter
(Chequers 1986)

1 P-K4 P-Q4	2 PxP N-KB3
3 P-QB4 P-B3	4 N-QB3 PxP
5 PxP NxP	6 P-Q4 P-K3
7 N-B3 B-K2	8 B-Q3 N-QB3
9 O-O O-O	10 R-K1 B-B3
11 B-K4 QN-K2	12 Q-Q3 P-KR3?

P-KN3 is a better defence in similar positions.

13 N-K5 NxN	14 QxN N-Q4
15 Q-KB3 P-QN3	16 P-QR4 B-N2
17 R-R3!	

To a standard and strong technique: the QR joins a king side attack via the third rank. Here it prepares a winning sacrifice.

17 ... R-B1	18 BxP! PxB
19 Q-R5 B-N4	20 BxN QxB
21 R-KN3 QxQP	22 QxP QxN
23 RxB ch QxR	24 QxQ ch K-R2
25 Q-R5 ch K-N2	26 P-R4 R-KN1
27 Q-K5 K-R2	28 P-KN3 R-QB5
29 Q-B6 R-N2	30 K-R2 R-B4
31 R-K5 Resigns	

London's other Mecca for the casual or regular chess visitor is the King's Head pub, appositely situated in Moscow Road, Bayswater. Sets and boards are available at the bar, and you can often find GMs or IMs there discussing recent games or analysing openings. King's Head run successful teams in the London and Middlesex leagues and also organise a variety of tournaments.

Their latest innovation was the first Halpern and Woolf London Open, sponsored by a leading accountancy firm and attracting over 300 competitors. Michael Stern, MP for Bristol North-West, is a director of H and W and was among those in last month's parliamentary debate who argued for better funding for British chess.

A feature of King's Head chess events is a variety of brilliancy and best game prizes in all sections so that there is still something to go for if you are out of contention for a main award. Just as in this week's first game, defensive skills required against an isolated queen's pawn prove too much for Black.

N. A. P. McSheehy — S. A. Silver
Queen's Gambit Accepted
(Halpern and Woolf London Open 1986)

1 P-Q4 P-Q4	2 P-QB4 PxP
3 P-K3 N-KB3	4 BxP P-K3
5 N-KB3 P-B4	6 O-O P-QR3
7 P-QR3 P-QN4	8 B-R2 B-N2
9 N-B3 QN-Q2	10 Q-K2 PxP
11 PxP B-K2	12 R-K1 N-N3
13 B-N5 QN-Q4	14 N-K5 O-O
15 BxKN BxB?	

Natural but fatal, permitting a decisive sacrifice. Best is 15 . . . NxN!

16 NxBP! NxN

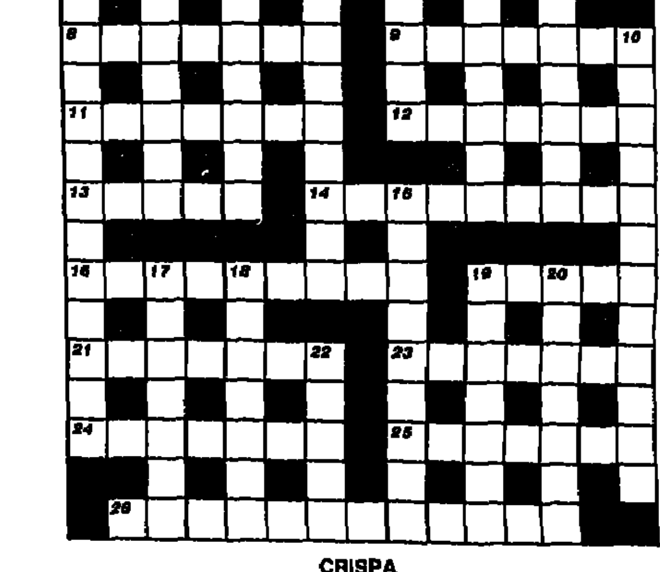
Or 16 . . . RxN 17 QxKP and now NxN fails to 18 QxR ch.

17 QxKP B-Q4	18 NxQ dis ch BxQ
19 BxB ch K-R1	20 N-B7 ch RxN
21 BxR N-R6	22 P-Q5 NxP
23 P-Q6 N-Q5	24 P-Q7 NxR
25 RxN R-KB1	26 R-K8 B-K2
27 P=Q Resigns.	

A COUNTRY DIARY

NORFOLK: Having gazed long enough at pearly vapours in the heavens from a high-rise hospital window, I am now home, cradled in a paradise of woodland greenery and bird song. Butterflies drift past my window, risking a snatch from spotted flycatchers nesting nearby on an ivy-covered wall. The purring of turtle doves as each day the sun's warmth has dispelled the dew and pervaded the scene with the dreaminess of haytime and high summer, has replaced for me the rhythmic droning of city traffic, of which I am reminded only when bumble bees come within hearing on their visits to garden flowers. From my bedroom I look down on huge, creamy umbels of giant hogweed, now at the height of perfection, and from time to time see willow and garden warblers swoop on the insects that settle on them. The predominant oaks and indeed all other trees in view, are carrying the densest burden of foliage that I have ever seen round about midsummer. Only too often there is widespread defoliation by caterpillars at this time, followed by regeneration as sappy "lammas" shoots develop. Leafing was much delayed this year and it remains to be seen whether caterpillar plagues are yet to make an impression. When night comes, the scent of honeysuckle drifts into my room and is doubtless a lure for hawk moths now stirring from the shadows as bats come forth and glow-worms twinkle in the grass of my garden. A few mosquitoes have been paying me stealthy visits in the night, giving me assurance that not only they, but the myriad other small inhabitants of the jungle round about, are faring well.

E. A. Ellis



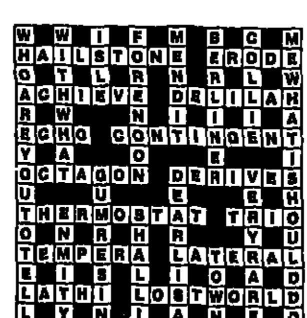
CRISPA

ACROSS

1. An attractive girl from Eastern Europe? (8, 4)
8. Intense radical (7)
9. Making threats to split (7)
11. He's pressing a claim for a former player (7)
12. Drink to celebrate, causing some irritation (7)
13. A woman lines each one (5)
14. Over-mild holy man engaged in tea-preparation with minor (9)
16. Sensitivity may be shown by these characters in a certain area (9)
19. Gradually reduce the light (5)
21. Writes — not all find it especially difficult (7)
23. Caustic with Oriental pest? (7)
24. Greek character having to get rid of the core (7)
25. Making a scholar go round to take electrical equipment (7)
26. Champions stop to ring as arranged (12)

DOWN

1. Name the new fuel (7)
2. Much will appear dull going around at 50 (7)
3. Doesn't like water running over cases (9)
4. Let in trendy group (5)
5. Soothe the head about state recession (7)
6. Slow admitting twitch is grating (7)
7. Rate reduction (12)
10. The enrolment of soldiers meaning to share fairly (12)
15. An American politician (9)
17. Mixed drink for a fellow-traveller (7)
18. Races held by those involved to be most exciting (7)
19. Weathermen's concern for thug in back-street (7)
20. The lady will see reporters around midweek (7)
22. Fashion grips the young person (5)



Alan Dunn's DIARY

Pugnacious Gatting confirmed as captain

A PUGNACIOUS innings, rescuing England from the depths of cricketing despair, has earned the new captain, Mike Gatting, an extended tenure in the job, certainly for the rest of the summer and with the possibility of leading the defence of the Ashes in Australia in the winter.

The third Test against the Indians at Edgbaston was the background to Gatting's formal appointment as captain for the series against the New Zealanders that will complete this summer's international cricket. It followed a superb 183 not out from him in England's first innings of 390 after the team had made a ghastly start of two wickets down without a run on the board; Gooch and Athey going to outswingers from Kapil Dev. The new boy, Mark Benson, brought in at the last minute when Larkins was injured, held firm during the next sticky period with England's deposed captain, Gower. Gatting came in when Benson went at 61 and saw out the day on 141 and on the second day ran out of supporting partners as he sought a team total of 400 and a personal 200.

After the disappointments at the start, the rest of the team batted reasonably well against bowling that, with the exception of Kapil Dev, didn't quite capture the penetrative power of the opening Tests, both won by India. There was no similar dismal opening from India, but they never got on top of the bowling, either. But the team bats long — More and Binney hit 48 and 40 respectively batting at eight and nine — and the result was a rare tie on first innings at 390. Amarnath led the way with 79, followed by Azharuddin on 64.

Earlier in the week, the chairman of the Test selectors, Peter May, had received a letter of apology from Ian Botham over the derogatory comments he had made about selectors during a speech at a private dinner. A similar letter went to all the selectors and the matter is now expected to be dealt with by the Test and County Cricket Board.

In the shifting pattern of the county championship, Essex stayed clear at the top, however, Hampshire losing twice in the week and none of the other challengers winning both their matches.

The Sunday League will have new sponsors from next season. John Player, the tobacco firm, is to withdraw the sponsorship it began when the league first opened for business in 1969, since when it has spent £3 million. It is believed that new sponsors will be expected to put up £500,000 next season when changes in the format are also expected. At the moment Hampshire lead the league but they share 24 points with Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire.

For once Wimbledon's fortnight was mostly rain free and the programme ran to form. Ivan Lendl versus Boris Becker was always everyone's choice for the men's final and it was perhaps significant that Lendl had more trouble en route than the defending champion. In his fourth round match against Matt Anger, Lendl battled for 16 minutes and saved five set points that would have meant a fifth set before winning. The quarter final against Tim Mayotte went the full distance, Lendl winning the last set of a 3½ hour match 9-7.

Becker, meanwhile, had some awkward moments against the unseeded Czech, Miroslav Mecir, but stepped up his game and won in three sets. In the semi-finals Lendl laboured somewhat against the giant Yugoslav Slobodan Zivojinovic in a battle of first serving that went the full distance again. Becker came through in four sets against France's Henri Leconte, whose 23rd birthday it was.

If the men's finalists were perhaps predictable, the women's missed the presence of Chris Lloyd. She had been given a glimpse of difficulties ahead in her quarter final against the Czech, Helena Sukova, that went to three sets. Sure enough, in the semi-finals, Mrs Lloyd's 45th in 46 Grand Slam appearances since 1972, she went out to the Czech, Hana Mandlikova, 7-6, 7-5. The turning point in an always tense match came in the second set when Miss Mandlikova, trailing 2-5, suddenly reeled off 14 points to swing the match irrevocably.

Meanwhile, the champion, Martina Navratilova, made her way pretty well untroubled to the final. In her quarter final Bettina Bunge was too nervous and fell 6-1, 6-3, while in the semi-final the 16-year-old Argentine, Gabriela Sabatini, the youngest semi-finalist this century, could only learn from the experience of defeat 6-2, 6-2.

The Bislett Games in Oslo, home of world records in track athletics, didn't quite live up to its reputation last week, but there was one world record, appropriately from the Norwegian Ingrid Kristiansen. She took the 10,000 metres in 30 minutes, 13.74 seconds, almost 46 seconds ahead of the record she had set on the same track last year. In the Dream Mile, Britain's Steve Cram again won but could not beat the world record he set at the track last year. He finished in 3 minutes 48.31 after being only $^{7}/_{100}$ths of a second outside the record pace at the three-quarter mark. Earlier in the week Sebastian Coe had been beaten in the 800 metres in Stockholm. He finished second to an American, Johnny Gray, who returned 1:42.85.

Spain's Severiano Ballesteros will rest from golf this week content that his form for next week's Open championship at Turnberry could hardly be bettered. At the weekend he set a European record by winning the French Open, his fourth consecutive win this season.

Gary Lineker, who won the Golden Boot as the leading goalscorer in soccer's World Cup in Mexico, was duly signed by Barcelona from Everton last week for £2.75 million. He has signed a six year contract that will make him financially secure for life.

In Rugby Union, Naas Botha, South African captain and fly half, will play for Northampton next season. Botha scored more than 2,000 points in first class rugby as an extraordinary goalkicker.

John Player League Table

	P	W	L	NR	T	Pts
Hampshire (3)	7	6	1	0	0	[illegible]
Northamptonshire (5)	7	6	1	0	0	[illegible]
Nottinghamshire (12)	9	6	3	0	0	[illegible]
Kent (10)	8	5	2	0	1	[illegible]
Yorkshire (6)	8	5	3	0	0	[illegible]
Essex (1)	8	4	3	1	0	[illegible]
Warwickshire (6)	9	4	4	0	1	[illegible]
Glamorgan (14)	8	4	4	0	0	[illegible]
Somerset (10)	7	4	3	0	0	[illegible]
Derbyshire (4)	7	3	4	0	0	[illegible]
Lancashire (14)	6	2	4	0	0	[illegible]
Leicestershire (6)	8	3	54	0	0	[illegible]
Middlesex (12)	8	2	4	1	0	[illegible]
Sussex (2)	7	3	4	0	1	[illegible]
Surrey (17)	8	2	5	0	0	[illegible]
Worcestershire (6)	8	2	6	0	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gloucestershire (6)	8	1	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

1985 positions in [illegible]

TENNIS: David Irvine sees the finals at the 100th Wimbledon championships

Becker's two-pronged assault fells Lendl

NOT content with being Wimbledon's youngest title winner, Boris Becker, still only 18, made sure his name would be remembered for another unique achievement on Sunday by retaining the trophy in the All England Club's 100th championship singles. In a collision of talents that never quite lived up to expectations, the West German confirmed his grass court supremacy by defeating the reigning World Champion Ivan Lendl 6-4, 6-3, 7-5 in a little over two hours.

The Czech simply found Becker too hot to handle, not only on serve — there were 14 aces against him — but on the sheer weight and variety of the youngster's returns. Sometimes they dipped to his ankles. At others they floated tantalisingly out of reach. More often than not they went past as though rocket-propelled.

"He just took a crack at my second serve every time," said a bewildered-looking Lendl. "I would have loved to do the same on his, but you can't the way he's serving at the moment. It put so much pressure on me to get my first serve in. He just stood inside the base line and swung. I was scrambling all the time."

Before the match, which was played on a real fast bowler's wicket, bald, dusty and hard, Lendl probably felt convinced he was ready to extend his kingdom. But against Becker's relentless onslaught, the grass court title remained beyond him. Lendl will no doubt return. He is eager to prove himself just as Bjorn Borg was eager to conquer the US Open and John McEnroe the French. With Becker around, the chances are he will be just as unsuccessful as the Swede and the American.

"It seems like my court out there," said Becker. "I have a little bit more luck than my opponents. I don't know why, it just happens. But it feels good out there."

At the close, after a dance of joy and the presentation of the trophy by Jean Borotra, the French Musketeer who won the title for a second time exactly 60 years ago, Becker raised the cup towards the Royal Box. And then amid the congratulatory applause, came a very special moment — a wave of approval from the West German President, Richard von Weizsaecker, who had stayed on specially in Britain to see his nation's young hero in his moment of triumph.

It was Becker's first title at any level since he beat Lendl in Chicago three months ago. Apart from the West German, Lendl has lost to only one other player this year. Sunday's, though, was a crushing dismissal, Lendl confirmed that he gave his all and it simply was not enough. "Boris played a great match," he said. "He deserves it."

The gauntlet was tossed down at the very first stroke — a Becker ace. Yet, within moments, he was having to fight hard to stave off break points. Lendl did lead in the fifth when the champion momentarily lost his composure, double-faulted and chopped a backhand volley into the net to allow Lendl the chance, which he took, to go 3-2 up with a brilliantly hit forehand struck from yards out to his right.

But he was unable to defend his lead. Immediately Lendl was in trouble on volleying errors and was broken when Becker reacted so swiftly on a return close to the net that Lendl volleyed the ball out of court.

The pattern rarely changed. There were few rallies; merely sudden violent blows from one end of the court to the other. Having won the first set, Becker began the second ace, ace, ace service winner. It was intimidating stuff and Lendl looked the worse for wear of the two.

At 1-1 a baby began to cry — surely not McEnroe junior? — and Lendl, apparently distracted, twice double-faulted. Having got away with that, he missed a break-point chance at 2-2, following which Becker served his 12th ace of the match and his 100th of the tournament. By then such statistical niceties were employing many minds in the Press area.

Again Becker finished the set the stronger. A vicious service return caught Lendl in two minds, and he volleyed wide Becker served out for a two-set lead inside 75 minutes. By then Lendl's own deliveries were so inaccurate that his percentage rate on first serves was below 50 whereas Becker's had risen to more then 70.

Lendl's supporters were encouraged when he jumped to a 3-0 advantage in the third. Again his assets proved vulnerable. At 4-2 Becker broke with a backhand return and the emotional temperature rose as the crowd, quite rightly, sensed what was coming.

Becker sensed it too, "Ivan started at 4-4 with two second-serve aces and again, at 5-4 with two passing shots. In all he played seven points on which I couldn't do anthing. Then, at 0-40, I made a good guess at the net and made the point."

On the next he did the same, leaving only one set-point chance in the Czech's favour. "Then I saw a little bit in Ivan's face that he did not know what to do any more to pass me," said Becker. "That helped me a lot. When I got to 5-5 it was a great feeling." It was also the end of Lendl's challenge.

There was one dramatic moment left. Serving for the title at 6-5, 0-30 — he had popped in a double fault and been passed by a forehand — Becker guessed correctly when Lendl swooped on a volley and hit another forehand down the line. That familiar Nijinsky leap saw the youngster hit the ground with a crash. But the ball, instead of coming on to the racket, caught the net and dropped "Suddenly the ball wasn't behind my ear, and I saw it falling in front of me," said Becker "I thought maybe I can get it." He did precisely that. At full stretch on the grass he hit the cheekiest cross-court winner to leave Lendl helpless. It was the kiss of death.

In fact Becker conceded only two sets in the fortnight. Triumph earned him £140,000 and made him the game's youngest dollar millionaire. He left the Centre Court whiffing of cordite and shrouded in gunsmoke.

Martina home again as Hana loses heart

SHE may have been born in Prague, she may now live in Texas but, to Martina Navratilova, Wimbledon is her spiritual home and the Centre Court crowd her family. "I love this place," she declared on Saturday. And so she should, having taken her total of winning finals to seven on Saturday by beating Hana Mandlikova 7-6, 6-3 after possibly her most testing first-set examination.

"I guess it becomes harder each time because it means more," she said. "But the closer I got to the final the more I saw myself lifting the trophy. Even when I was 2-5 down I thought even if I don't win the first set, I can win the next two."

In the event, a recovery of those proportions was not necessary. Mandlikova, who was at the champion's throat at the start of the match, confirmed her capricious nature and still brittle temperament yet again by losing her rhythm and, with it, 12 of the next 14 points.

Once the initiative had been torn from her, she was doomed. Centre Court may be home to Navratilova; to Mandlikova, who also lost in her only previous final appearance four years ago, it is Heartbreak House.

It was a final in which Navratilova established a new record with her 34th singles victory at the championships, and equalled a more enduring record by taking her fifth successive singles title, a feat only the legendary Suzanne Lenglen had previously achieved.

Should Navratilova win again in 1987 — and who would wager against that? — she would not only share, with Helen Wills Moody, a haul of eight titles, but would equal Bjorn Borg's unprecedented run of 41 victories.

Mandlikova, who appeared to bow to the inevitable once the tide changed, was moved to compare the champion with Borg: "She is absolutely unbelievable. She must have the perfect game for grass." Nevertheless the 24-year-old's total collapse was hard to credit.

Even Navratilova admitted to having been worried at the start. "She was just blasting winners. All I could do was hang in. She was falling over, getting up to make drop shots, clipping the lines. I wondered what else could go wrong. It was raining and she was playing unbelievable. I'd at least hoped she'd be nervous in the beginning."

For all that Navratilova suspected that it would not last. Nor did it. At 5-2 Mandlikova's game fell apart just as Navratilova's came together. From 3-5, 15-all down the champion found the mark with 22 consecutive first serves — an astonishing demonstration of accuracy — and from that moment a contest became a rout.

For months Navratilova had struggled to find her serving rhythm. Even she had come to recognise that its lethal quality had gone. "And all that was wrong was the toss, nothing else," she explained. "Once it came together, I didn't feel anything could go wrong. When you feel that confident, the rest of your game just falls into place."

What gave her special pleasure, she emphasised, was in coming through so convincingly in her first final against a serve-and-volleyer. Her other six title confrontations had been with baseliners — five against Chris Lloyd, one against Andrea Jaeger — and she had also lived with the nagging memory that it was Mandlikova who had stripped her of the US title last September.

On grass, though, Navratilova has again proved she has no peer. There never has been a woman's champion quite like her.

Jordan has the doubles jinx on Navratilova

FOR the second successive year Kathy Jordan helped scupper Martina Navratilova's dream of becoming the first player since Billie-Jean King in 1973 to win three Wimbledon titles in the fortnight — when, in the final of the mixed doubles on Sunday, she partnered by Ken Flach to a 6-3, 7-6 victory over the women's champion and Heinz Gunthardt.

Last year it was Jordan in conjunction with Elizabeth Smylie of Australia who thwarted Navratilova and Pam Shriver.

Navratilova and her partner had been firm favourites and, despite a disastrous first set in which Gunthardt allowed himself to be broken in the sixth game, had every chance to force the final to a third. Twice at 5-6 the eventual winners had two set points against them.

Three more followed in the tie-break, with Jordan saving the last with a serve which Gunthardt netted. It was Flach, however, who killed off Navratilova's hopes by cutting out her volley for the winning stroke.

There was some consolation, however, in the women's doubles when Navratilova and Shriver beat Hana Mandlikova and Wendy Turnbull 6-1, 6-3.

And in the men's doubles there was some belated cheer for the strong Swedish contingent when Joakim Nystrom and Mats Wilander defeated the Americans Gary Donnelly and Peter Fleming 7-6, 6-3, 6-3. It was the first Swedish success in the event since 1958.

● The Wimbledon attendance for the 13 days of the 100th Championships was a record 400,032. This was 2,050 up on last year's best.

The final Wimbledon results

Men's Singles
Holder
B. Becker (West Germany)
B. BECKER (W. Ger) beat I. LENDL (Cz) 6-4, 6-3, 7-5.
MEN'S SINGLES — Winner: B. Becker (WG), £140,000. Runner-up: I. Lendl (Cz), £70,000.

Women's Singles
Holder
M. Navratilova (US)
M. NAVRATILOVA (US) beat H. MANDLIKOVA (Cz) 7-6, 6-3.
WOMEN'S SINGLES — Winner: Miss M. Navratilova (US), £126,000. Runner-up: H. Mandlikova (Cz), £63,000.

Men's Doubles
Holders
H. P. Gunthardt (Switz) and B. Taroczy (Hun)
J. NYSTROM and M. WILANDER (Swe) beat G. DONNELLY and P. FLEMING (US) 7-6, 6-3, 6-3.
MEN'S DOUBLES — Winners: J. Nystrom and M. Wilander (Swe), £48,600 shared. Runners-up: G. Donnelly and P. Fleming (US) £24,250.

Women's Doubles
Holders
K. Jordan (US) and P. D. Smylie (Aus)
M. NAVRATILOVA and P. H. SHRIVER (US) beat H. MANDLIKOVA (Cz) and W. M. TURNBULL (Aust) 6-1, 6-3.
WOMEN'S DOUBLES — Winners: M. Navratilova and P. Shriver (US) £42,060. Runners up: H Mandlikova (Cz) and W Turnbull (Aust) £21,030.

Mixed Doubles
Holders
P. McNamee (Aus) and M. Navratilova (US)
K. FLACH and K. JORDAN (US) beat H. P. GUNTHARDT (Swiz) and M. NAVRATILOVA (US) 6-3, 7-6.
MIXED DOUBLES — Winners: K. Flach and K. Jordan (US), £25,200. Runners-up H. Gunthardt (Switz) and M. Navratilova, £12,600.

Other Finals
Women's Plate: (Holder: E. Reinach). P. H. Shriver (US) beat S. Rehe (US) 4-6, 7-6, 6-0.
Over-35 Men's Singles: (Holder: S. R. Smith): J. Fillol (Chile) beat A. Roche (Aust) 6-3, 6-2.
Over-35 Men's Doubles: (Holders: C. S. Dibley and J. Fillol): M. C. Reissen and S. E. Stewart (US) beat C. S. Dibley (Aust) and J. Fillol (Chile) 6-3, 6-4.
Junior Girls: (Holder: A. Holikova): N. Zvereva (USSR) beat L. Meskl (USSR) 2-6, 6-2, 9-7.
Junior Boys: (Holder: L. Lavalle): E. Velez (Mex) beat J. Sanchez (Sp) 6-3, 7-5.

MOTOR RACING: Maurice Hamilton at the French Grand Prix at Le Castellet

Mansell is just a point adrift

NIGEL MANSELL strengthened his challenge for the world championship at the Paul Ricard circuit in Le Castellet on Sunday when he won the French Grand Prix after yet another convincing display in his Williams Honda. Mansell now lies one point behind Alain Prost, who finished second in his McLaren at the end of what was essentially a two-horse race once Ayrton Senna had crashed out of second place on the fourth lap of the 80 lap race.

Senna, who was uninjured, slid off with his Lotus on a patch of oil which almost caught Mansell and Prost as well. The Brazilian, who jumped to the top of the championship table after winning in Detroit two weeks ago, now lies two points behind Mansell as the teams head for next Sunday's British Grand Prix at Brands Hatch.

In a race dictated by tactics, Mansell made two stops for tyres, losing the lead on each occasion to Prost, who chose to make just one stop. The world champion kept Mansell under pressure in the closing stages, but the Englishman never looked like losing control.

"I though I was going to spin off and hit the barrier when I came across the oil in the early laps," said Mansell. "Then I had another nasty moment near the end when someone cut me up badly — I won't say who, because it was a fellow countryman — and all the time I thought Alain was conserving his tyres and was going to come at me. It was a close thing all the way."

Thanks to the caution exercised by the drivers, there was not the anticipated accident at the first corner, although later in the opening lap Derek Warwick became involved in a barging match with the Benetton of Teo Fabi. Warwick made a stop for a new nose-cone on his Brabham, and went on to take ninth place at the expense of Martin Brundle as the Tyrrell driver slowed with gearbox trouble.

Brundle's team-mate Philippe Streiff had retired earlier when a fuel injection pipe broke and sprayed petrol over the Renault engine. Streiff pulled up near the pits, and the ensuing blaze allowed the organisers to display a disturbing degree of incompetence as first two fire trucks were driven the wrong way out of the pit lane, then one of the rescue vehicles sprayed foam over the pit entrance rather than the car.

Jonathan Palmer, believed to be the perpetrator of the indiscretion referred to by Mansell, made an excellent start, but his Zakspeed retired with engine trouble after 46 laps. Johnny Dumfries went out with a similar failure, but not before he had piloted his Lotus steadily in the middle of the pack and survived a potentially disastrous clash of wheels while lapping another car.

Mansell rubbed in his domination of his eighth round of the world championship by setting the fastest lap, over half a second quicker than his Williams team-mate, Nelson Piquet, who finished a distant third ahead of the McLaren of Keke Rosberg.

FRENCH GP (Le Castellet, 305.04km) — 1, N Mansell (GB), Williams; 2, A. Prost (Fr), McLaren; 3, N. Piquet (Bra), Williams; 4, K. Rosberg (Fin), McLaren; 5, R. Arnoux (Fr), Ligier; 6, J. Laffite (Fr), Ligier: Other British: 9, D. Warwick, Brabham; 10, M. Brundle, Tyrrell; 14, J. Dumfries, Lotus; 15, J. Palmer, Zakspeed. World Championship standings: 1, Prost 39pts; 2, Mansell 38; 3 Senna 36; 4, Piquet 23; 5, Rosberg 17; 6, Laffite 14